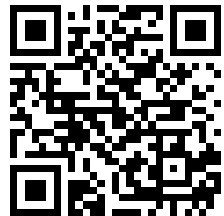
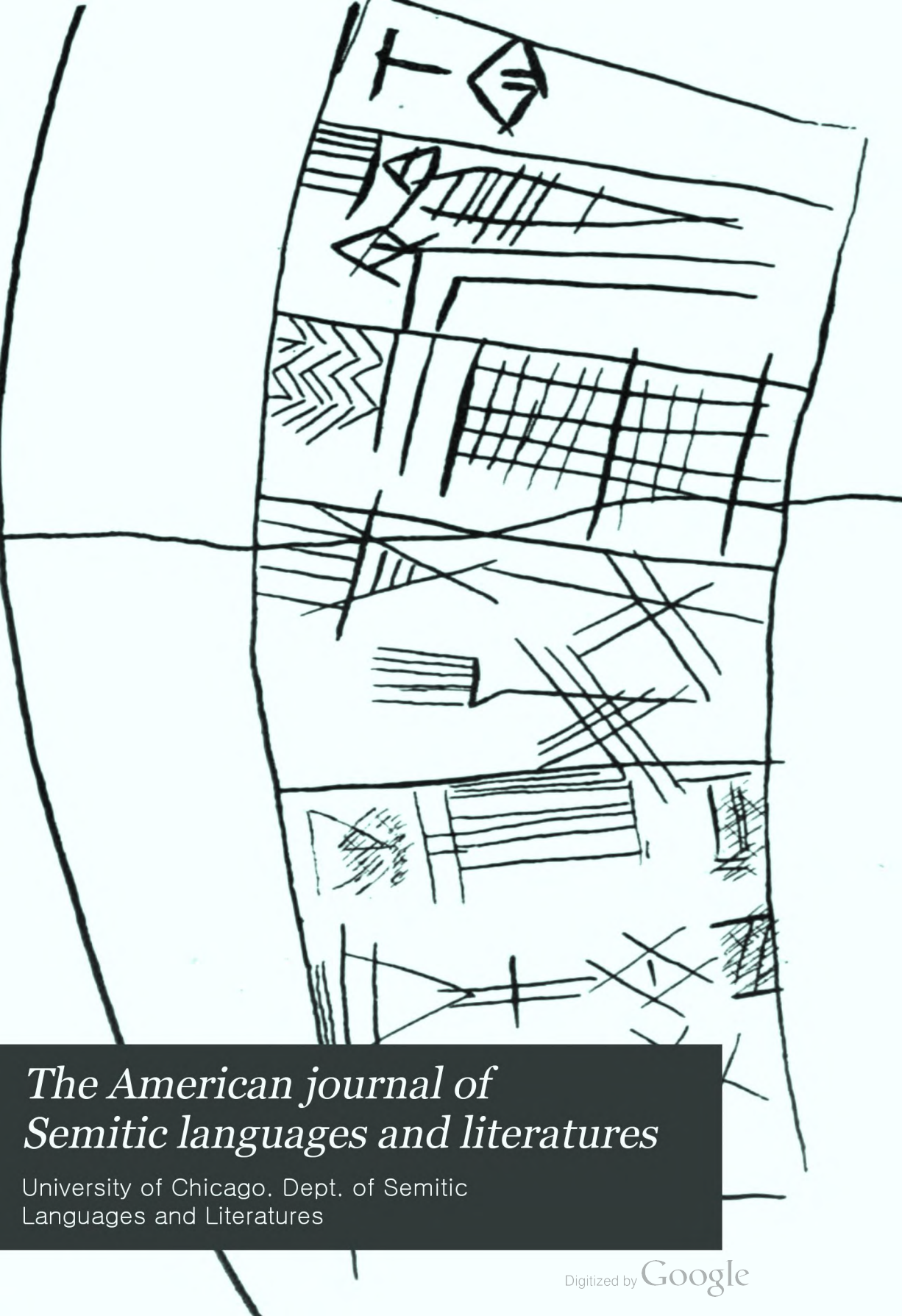

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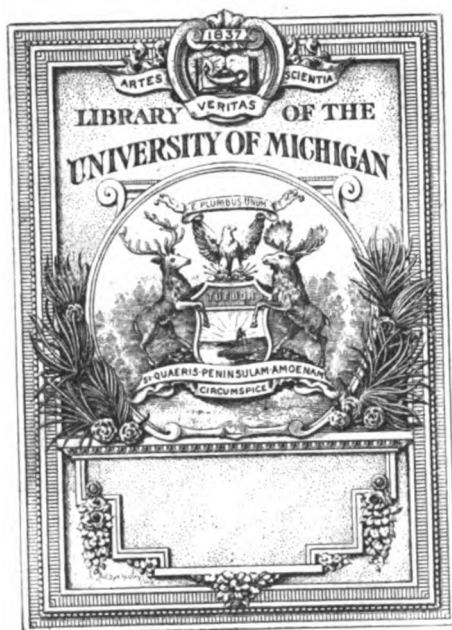
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
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VOLUME XXX

OCTOBER 1913

NUMBER 1

SOURCE STUDY AND THE BIBLICAL TEXT

BY A. T. OLMSTEAD
University of Missouri

The historian cannot use his facts until he has proved his sources. To do this, he uses source criticism, or, as it has been most unfortunately called in its application to the biblical writings, the "Higher Criticism." In most fields of history, it is rarely necessary to go behind the printed sources, and, when we must do so, the philological criticism demanded is of the simplest. But, as need hardly be pointed out, the situation as regards the early Hebrew writings is very different. Our Hebrew manuscripts are, without exception, very late, though it is true that their text can be traced back some centuries earlier. When, however, we come to compare this text with that furnished by the various versions, and particularly with those made into or from the Greek, we soon discover that the texts they used differed widely, that with the aid of these various translations or revisions we are able to trace the growth of the text, and that the various stages show us, almost without exception, progressive additions to an original text. Here and there we do find additions which had been made to the original from which the Septuagint was translated, after it had parted company with the original of the present Hebrew text, but these additions are rarely of importance, and, after we have cut them out, we have, not indeed the original, but at least a text which represents the earliest form which can be

secured by manuscript study. Accordingly, before we can begin our study of the sources, we must first have before us the text on which was based the Septuagint.

All this is accepted by modern scholars, at least in theory, but the practice can hardly be said to be in agreement. The usual method followed for securing such a base text has been that of taking the present Massoretic text and then correcting it by means of the versions in such places as the individual scholar has thought such action necessary. The scholars who have done the authoritative work on problems of the lower criticism have rarely been interested in those of the higher, and students of the higher criticism, on the other hand, have but rarely attempted to work out the broader problems of the versions, usually contenting themselves with the textual criticism of individual passages. An attempt to apply some of the results secured by the study of the versions to questions of historical criticism seems worth making.

When, however, we begin such an attempt, we face at once the greatest of the problems connected with the versions, the question as to what really is the Septuagint. We can no longer accept the readings of the oldest manuscript or even group of manuscripts, for we find them differing in their relationships in different books. Oftentimes it is a group of cursives, derived from an old archetype, which has preserved facts of the greatest value. While the problems are all more or less interrelated, yet those of each book must be studied by themselves. Within the last few years, a little band of scholars has produced some splendid work on the history of the text and on the problems presented by the various recensions.¹ Certain facts have been clearly proved, and, what is of even more importance, we have learned something of method. Perhaps the time is premature to attempt to apply such results to the problems of the historical criti-

¹ For general discussion of work done, see G. F. Moore, in this Journal, XXIX, 37 ff. Howarth, in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* is always suggestive and deserves to be better known. Torrey's *Esra Studies* are too well accepted for praise to be needed. Margolis' articles in *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* and in this Journal are a mine of information, and so is Proksch's *Septuaginta Studien*. Silberstein, *Zft. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, XIII, 1 ff., deals with the A and B texts, but disavows an attempt to do this sort of work, and Rahlf's fine *Septuaginta Studien* only deal with the Lucianic data. Thackeray's work in the *Jour. Theol. Stud.* was seen only when the article was practically complete, and the many coincidences and dovetailings, some of which are here given, add much to our certainty as to the results.

cism, but at least it is better to use these partial results than to work out theories as to the sources with no reference to them at all.¹

The old idea that the so-called Septuagint represents a homogeneous whole has long since been abandoned. In the absence of a more accurate nomenclature, it may, however, be permitted to apply this term to the earliest translation we possess of any particular book, only premising that it is not any of those which were used in Origen's *Hexapla* as the late date of these is well known. The question as to the date of translation of any individual book is a very difficult one to answer, but an answer, at least an approximate one, is necessary if we are to understand the stage in the history of the text marked by the translation. It is, for example, absolutely necessary to distinguish between types of text marked at one extreme by the very early translation of the Law, say 250 B.C., and on the other by the common translation of Daniel which has always been known to be that of Theodotion and which must therefore date nearly four centuries later. Obviously, the one witnesses to a text much earlier in date than that of the Massorettes, while the latter is essentially identical with it, at least in those passages where the Semitic original has been preserved. In the case of Daniel, we are fortunate enough to have a manuscript which gives us the original Septuagint, and we have also the testimony of the Syro-Hexaplar. From the hexaplaric data, we can see that this does not perfectly represent its original. Daniel itself is so late and its tone is so in keeping with that of the time when the additions were made that we should think there was probably little temptation to expand it to fit its utterances to the later point of view. Yet comparison with the text of Theodotion shows a good plenty of expansions and changes.

That even a book of such late date would not be preserved untouched through this period of editing is shown in an even more striking manner by the case of the Chronicler's writing. One could ask for no man more in sympathy with the later viewpoint than he, yet Howorth² and Torrey³ have been able to show that the current

¹ This study grew out of an investigation of the sources for Assyrian times, a part of which is seen in the author's *Sargon* and the remainder in *Assyrian Historiography* soon to be published. Aid and encouragement must be acknowledged to Professor N. Schmidt of Cornell, under whom the writer first learned the use of Holmes and Parsons, and to Professor Torrey of Yale and Professor G. F. Moore of Harvard.

² *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXIII, 158.

³ *Ezra Studies*, 62 ff.

Greek translation is not the Septuagint, and that this differs widely from the fragment of the real Septuagint preserved in what we know as I Esdras. When we compare this with the Massoretic text, or with its Greek translation, the differences are startling. Two long sections of great interest are entirely missing, a serious dislocation covering several chapters has taken place, and many more minor changes show the untrustworthy character of the Massoretic edition and of its translation, the so-called Septuagint.¹ In fact, we have to deal, not with textual corruption, but with a thorough re-editing. Now this fragment covers only Ezra with small portions of Chronicles and Nehemiah. For the remainder, including all but two chapters of the long book we call Chronicles, we have only the translation in Greek of what is essentially our present Hebrew text. This means that for these sections we have no manuscript means of going much behind the text. That the real Septuagint would have shown us changes to have taken place not only of text but of content and as serious as those proved by I Esdras, we may be sure, but to discover these changes we can only use conjecture.

This conclusion has a consequence of a serious character. Since we do not have the earlier edition of Chronicles, made before the later harmonization could have taken place, it is almost impossible to discuss without serious danger of error its relation to Kings. That such harmonization could have easily taken place is shown by the Greek translation where it parallels I Esdras, for here long additions from Kings are made. To be sure, these particular additions are no more to be found in the Hebrew than in I Esdras, but they at least show the possibility of such harmonization. Nor, despite the fact that there are so few parallels between Kings and Chronicles in the short section where we can use I Esdras as check, are we without indications of such harmonization in the text of Chronicles, for I Esdras had neither the Eliakim and the change of name of II Chron. 36:4, nor the reigning eleven years in Jerusalem of the next verse, nor the "rising up early and sending" of 36:15, the last a frequent expression in the post Septuagintal additions to Jeremiah. As these are both in Kings, there can be no doubt as to the latter being the original source. If here, where there was so little inducement, two

¹ Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, *passim*.

such harmonizations, involving not merely changes of the text but the addition of facts of real importance, could take place, we have every reason to suspect far greater harmonization in the passages where closer relationship is indicated. Other additions to the Hebrew text are proved by even the present Greek translation to have been made after its original had been translated. That more serious additions were made to it in the earlier period, and just after the time of the first Greek translation, when so many were made to other books, is extremely probable. The possibility then remains that some individual misdeed attributed to the Chronicler in reality should be laid up against a reviser. Of much more serious moment is the showing that we cannot prove identity of source with any certainty because our *present* texts of Kings and Chronicles agree.

The preceding statements in regard to the work of the Chronicler will probably be accepted by all scholars who have studied the textual problems of the book. What is not so well known is that the same conditions can be shown to exist in the case of Kings. If we anywhere have the original Septuagint preserved to us, outside of the Law, it will generally be agreed that it is in the book of Jeremiah. At any rate, it certainly is a translation dating from before our era. It is well known that this translation, like all the earlier ones, is a good bit shorter than the Hebrew, by one-eighth it is estimated. The great mass of hexaplaric material which has come down to us, thanks especially to that given us by Codex Q, makes a study of the gradual growth of the text both easy and profitable. The growth of the text as it goes through the hands of Symmachus¹ and Aquila and the sudden expansion which occurs in the translation of Theodotion, as well as the data which are given only under the asterisk, will be dealt with in a later paper. Here we are interested only in the fact that Jeremiah 39: 4-13, omitted in all the great manuscripts,² is quoted in

¹ It is curious that Symmachus, clearly the latest in personal date, has the shortest, i.e., earliest text. It is generally assumed, cf. Swete, *Introd.* 51, that he used all his predecessors. We may compare the case of Codex B where we have generally in the Old Testament a hexaplaric, i.e., later text, but with the plus of that text omitted.

² The passage is found only in 36, 48, 51, 96, 228, 233, 239, on the margin of 86, and under the * in 88. It is worthy of note that it is omitted in the Paris codex of the Arabic quoted in Walton's Polyglot, a MS which regularly omits the hexaplaric plus. Since it is omitted by the translator of the second part of Jeremiah, whose date must be later than the LXX of Daniel which he quotes in Baruch, Thackeray, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, IV, 265, but was found in the original of the "Three," the date of the insertion can be fixed to a time not far from the Christian era.

αυτον εν παιδες (so A.) και ηγαγεν¹ εις Βαβυλωνα . . . και
αυτον εν παιδες . . . του αγαγειν αυτον εις Βαβυλωνα . . . και
 ενεπρησεν . . . τον
 (ενεπρησαν) . . . τον
οικον του βασιλεως και το περισσον του λαου το καταλειφθεν εν τη
οικον του βασιλεως και το λοιπον του λαου τους υπολειφθεντας εν τη
 πολει και τους
 πολει και τους
ενπεπτωκοτας οι ενεπεσον . . . και το λοιπον . . . Ναβουζαρδαν ο
εμπεσοντας οι ενεπεσαν . . . και το λοιπον . . . Ναβουζαρδαν ο
 αρχιμαγειρος.
 αρχιμαγειρος.

It will not require more than a glance at the parallel passages shown above² to indicate beyond doubt that these two texts are closely related; in fact, our first impression is that they are virtually identical. Where the two have a similar Hebrew text behind them, they are translated in the same fashion, the variants being only what we should expect to develop through the accidents of manuscript transmission. And this impression is strengthened when we find here what is the most characteristic feature of Theodotion, the large number of transliterations.³ In this one chapter of Kings we have *αραβα*, *αραβωθ*, *μεχωνωθ*, *ιαμειν*, *χωθαρ*, *σαβαχα*, and of these *μεχωνωθ* is actually cited for Theodotion in Jer. 27:19. As a rule, proper names in this part of Kings are not Hellenized. Equally characteristic of Theodotion is the closeness of the translation to the Hebrew, so close that we might almost say that it is Hebrew in Greek dress.⁴

¹ Most MSS add *αυτον*.

² In general, the Lucianic text differs considerably from the other manuscripts, especially as regards its minus, and in some cases is probably closer to the true LXX. But note also that, in several cases, it has preserved the Theodotonic readings in Kings otherwise witnessed only by the Q margin of Jeremiah.

³ Field, *Hexapla*, I, xl, f.; cf. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 69 ff.; Burney, *Notes on the Text of Kings*, xxviii f. They are especially numerous in the second book, Burney, *loc. cit.* On the basis of these transliterations, Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 339, has already pointed out Theodotonic elements in Kings.

⁴ Note the Hebraisms, Burney, *Text*, xxvii. While we naturally have no complete texts of Aquila and Symmachus, we have fragments enough, identified by the Syro-Hexaplar and given us in Greek form by such codices as 22 and 36, to test by them. In not one case where they differ from Theodotion in either Jeremiah or Kings are they to be found in the "Septuagint" of Kings.

If the Jeremiah text is that of the true Septuagint,¹ then at first glance the closeness of the Kings text to that given in Jeremiah 52 would seem to argue against the attribution to Theodotion. But closer examination shows differences as striking as the likenesses. That the two translations are related must be admitted.² But the many transliterations of the Kings passage are almost without exception absent. While Kings is extremely literal, some attempt is made in Jeremiah to write good Greek. The two will use identical phraseology in a sentence, save that the verb or the noun which gives the tone to it will be different, thus indicating that one is a revision of the other. In the use of the article, Jeremiah is decidedly the superior. Kings translates literally by a nominal expression, as, for example, in 25, 27, *εν τω ενιαυτω της βασιλειας αυτου*, while Jeremiah 52, 31, makes of it a dependent clause, *εν τω ενιαυτω ω βασιλευσεν*. In general, Jeremiah has the fairly free, somewhat literary style which we are accustomed to expect in the earlier translations, while the other is painfully literal. And our study of this chapter throws a little light on another problem. The long additions of the Hebrew in this chapter are not found in the Septuagint, that is natural enough,³ but, what is more curious, they seem to be missing also in the text of the "Three" which here make very meager additions. They are attributed to the mysterious editor who is simply indicated by the asterisk in Codex Q. It is worthy of note that even Theodotion, not to speak of Symmachus and Aquila, had not the statistics of 52:27b-30 or the "doing evil in the sight of Yahweh" of verses 2-3, and so a date for this insertion after his time seems fixed. However that may be, the "Septuagint" of Jer., chap. 52, is closely akin to but not the same as the text used by Kings.

Thus far we have been able to prove that the text of our Greek

¹ According to Thackeray, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, IV, 260, this chapter was made by a third translator. He also notes that it is not in Codex 41. Is Jer., chap. 52, a fragment of the true Septuagint of II Kings?

² Thackeray, *loc. cit.*, says that the Greek Jer., chap. 52, is not taken from the Greek of II Kings, chap. 24-25. If by this he means that they are not related, he is certainly mistaken.

³ The Old Latin MS Corb. n. 2, Sabatier, II. 2. 720 ad v. 12, supports the Greek omissions, also the "three score men," etc., of 25, the topographical data of 26, the month and day of 31, while for 32 f. we have the much better reading "He changed his garments and placed his throne above all the Jews who were in Babylonia." The Arabic Paris MS omits 2-3; the date in 12; nearly all 15 f.; the proper names of 24; and 28-30; and shortens 27.

Kings is at least closely related to that ascribed to Theodotion and that the probabilities are in favor of admitting their identity. This is made a practical certainty by another parallel passage, II Kings 18:13–20: 7, duplicated in Isa., chaps. 36–39. Here too we have a prophetic work whose translation is recognized as that of the Septuagint,¹ and here too we should expect Theodotion to have used his Kings translation in that of Isaiah. Comparison of the two texts shows exactly the same relationship as we have found to exist between the text of Kings and that of Jer., chap. 52, the Kings again being the more literal. One interesting illustration of the tendency of Kings to transliterate while the Septuagint translated is shown by the respective use of Ararat and Armenia for the Hebrew Ararat. In addition, we note that the Isaiah text is somewhat shorter than either the Greek Kings or the Hebrew Isaiah. Since it is obvious that these additions must have been taken from the parallel accounts of Kings, we should find these attributed to Theodotion in the marginal notes of Codex Q if Kings really is his work. There is one case, Isa. 36:6, where a reading, *και τηρει αυτην*, is attributed only to Theodotion, and that is found exactly repeated in II Kings 18:21. In 39:7, only Theodotion has *οιτινες εξελουσονται εκ σου*, and this is also repeated in II Kings 20:18, save that here we have the slight scribal variant of *οι* for *οιτινες*. *Και εις την πολιν ουκ εισελυσεται* is in Theodotion and elsewhere only in Codex B. As it is missing in *SAOQ*, evidently this is one of the cases where Codex B has suffered correction from Theodotion. Of course it is in II Kings 19:33. An instructive case is Isa. 38:6. Here Codex B has *ρυσομαι σε* which the margin of Q gives as the reading of the LXX and Aquila. Symmachus has *ελελουμαι σε*. Theodotion alone is not mentioned. Codices *SAQ* on Isaiah give *σωσω σε* which, by a process of elimination, we should naturally assign to Theodotion. When we turn to II Kings 20:6 we again find *σωσω σε*.² This strengthens our suspicion that this was the reading of Theodotion. More interesting still is the fact that the scribe of Q considered that the real LXX had a reading different from that of Kings, though his

¹ For the early date of Isaiah, cf. Thackeray, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, IV, 583; X, 300 ff.; for the double division of the translation, cf. G. B. Gray, *ibid.*, XII, 286 ff.

² The Lucianic codices have *ρυσω σε* or *ρυσομαι σε* in Kings, either contamination from Isaiah or possibly a trace of the original LXX.

own text witnessed differently. Theodotion agrees with Aquila in reading *Assurion* in Isa. 37:8, found also in II Kings 19:8, and with Symmachus in the *και ανεγνω κυριου* of 37:14, and *χορτος αγρου* of 37:27, these being found in II Kings 19:14 and 19:26 respectively. Most common, however, are the cases where the "Three" agree together as against the Septuagint of Isaiah. These are *προς με* 36:7; *δη* 36:8; *κυριος ειπε . . . αυτην* 36:10; *δη* 36:11; *την . . . αυτων . . . αυτων* 36:12; *απηρεν απο Λαχεις* 37:8; *ιδου συ* 37:11; *και συ ρυσθηση* 37:11; *Εζεκιας* 37:14; *Σενναχηρειμ* 37:21; *ω δη κυριε* 38:3. Every one of these is exactly repeated in Kings. Particularly striking is the triple occurrence of the very characteristic particle *δη*. As over against all these agreements, we have only the omission of the article in 37:2, and the *Λοβανα* of Theodotion as compared with the *Λοβνα* of Codex A, for of course the *Λομνα* of Codex B and its followers¹ is due solely to internal corruption. Such differences, by their very slightness, only strengthen the belief that this identity of text means identity of author. That the text is that of Theodotion as it stands seems clear from the fact that every reference to that translator is found in Kings, while that is not true of either of the others.²

We seem thus to have proved with almost mathematical certainty that this part of Kings at least is the work of Theodotion. But we must now face the fact that in Field's edition of the Hexapla there are a number of places where we have variants from the text of Kings attributed to Theodotion, and this seems at first sight to entirely overthrow our theory. It is true indeed that there is no small number of such references, though far fewer than those to Symmachus and especially to Aquila.³ For the greater part of II Kings there are

¹ 56, 82, 119, 242, 243, 244, 246.

² The one certain reference in Philo, *Quod deus sit immut.*, 138; cf. Ryle, *Philo and Scripture*, 289; Philo: *Ανθρωπε του θεου*

II Kings 17:18: *Ανθρωπος του θεου*

εισηλθες προς με αναμνησαι το αδικημα
εισηλθες προς με του αναμνησαι αδικιας
μου και το αμαρτημα μου.
μου

is very close to our Kings, but the absence from Kings of the final phrase should be noted and the possibility of MS contamination cannot be denied.

³ When Silberstein, *Zts. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, XIII, 69, says that the additions are not, as in other books, taken from Theodotion, but from Aquila, "mit nur geringen Ausnahmen," he is putting it much too strongly, but there is a large element of truth in his statement.

rarely less than three or four and sometimes ten or eleven to the chapter. But for the last chapters of the book, the ones exactly parallel to our texts, we have few indeed. In chaps. 19, 20, and 24, there are none. There is one in 25, four in 23, two in 22, one in 21, five in 18, thirteen in all. Let us examine these more closely.

In 23:10, the Syro-Hexaplar and 243 give a common reading for Symmachus and Theodotion and this we cannot explain as yet. For 23:7 Codex 243 gives *βεθθειμ* to Theodotion and this is found in 121 and a corruption of it in 247. This fact that the same form occurs in certain MSS is enough to waken interest, but no more. In 18:4 the *Νεεσθεν* attributed to Theodotion by 243 is closer to the *Νεεσθαν* of Codex B than the reading of half the regular "Septuagint" codices. In 18:28, 31, where the Theodotion reading is common to Aquila and Quinta and in 21:4; 22:13; 22:20, where Symmachus also has it, a large number of "Septuagint" MSS, sometimes a majority and sometimes important ones, agree with him. In these cases the reading of the "Septuagint" is in doubt and we may as well take the ones which agree with the Theodotion reading as those which oppose it. The addition of *μεγαν* by Aquila and Theodotion in 25:9 is also found in the Lucianic codices, and we may suspect that it is his reading and that it is given by mistake to Theodotion. The same seems true in 18:20, where *σταθμους* for *εστηρικμενα* is also found in the Lucianic Theodoret.

We begin to see light with 23:4, where 243 gives *εις το περιβωμιον . . . διαταξει* to Symmachus and Theodotion. Now the Lucianic text and Lucifer agree in giving us *Ασηρωθ*, and when these two agree, we certainly have something earlier than we can usually secure otherwise. This transliteration, then, must have been in their common original. But we have seen that transliterations are the commonest sign of the presence of Theodotion. When we find that the present "Septuagint" texts have *αλσει* and Aquila *αλσωματι*, we cannot but think that here, as in so many other places, the transliterations of Theodotion were smoothed down by the aid of another version. That our conjecture is not baseless is found in the later part of the verse where the "Septuagint" still retains the transliteration *σαδημωθ*. But Lucifer by his *convalle* shows that he had before him, not this transliteration, but the reading *εν τη φαραγγι*

which 243 attributes to Symmachus and Theodotion! In 18:19, where the Syro-Hexaplar gives to all four *ο μεγας*, this is not only found in all the MSS of Kings, it is also found in Isaiah, so that this is not a real variant at all.

This unreliability of our sources for the hexaplaric readings best comes out in a study of 16:17. Here the "Septuagint" is given by the Syro-Hexaplar as *μεχωνωθ* while to Theodotion is given *υποστηρικματα*. Naturally, we again suspect that the attributions have been reversed. On I Kings 7:27; II Kings 25:13, this same transliteration is given for the "Septuagint" and Aquila and Symmachus have their regular terms, but there is no Theodotion. This makes us suspect that his reading was the same as the "Septuagint." The confusion becomes still more marked in Jer. 52:17, where the Syro-Hexaplar gives "the Hebrew" *μεχωνωθ* while *υποστηρικματα* is given to Aquila. 86 and 88, on the other hand, give *μεχωνωθ* to Aquila and *βασεις*, elsewhere used by Symmachus, to the "Septuagint." But fortunately, our one best authority, Codex Q, gives us *μεχωνωθ* as the reading of Theodotion in Jer. 27:19, and this we shall follow. Here then we find the proof that this transliteration really belongs to Theodotion, as we have suspected. We have proved, by confrontation of one by the other, that our sources for hexaplaric readings are confused and in part certainly incorrect. We can explain away all the difficult attributions to Theodotion in this part of Kings and the same could be done in other parts as well. That these inferior sources for our knowledge of the later translators attribute a few readings to Theodotion cannot for a moment prevent our accepting the attribution of at least this part of Kings to that translator, backed as this attribution is by so many bits of evidence which are based ultimately on our best source, Codex Q.

We may accept, then, the attribution of this translation to Theodotion. But this does not mean that the account, as a whole, has no earlier witness. We have variants on the Jeremiah passage attributed to Symmachus and Aquila and it cannot have escaped the notice of the reader that in Isaiah the great majority of the coincidences are of the "Three" as against the true Septuagint. In other words, while the identification of this form of the text with that of Theodotion is proved by the readings which are in Theodotion and

Kings alone, there was in all essentials the same text in the archetype from which the "Three" were derived. But we can go a step farther back. The Septuagint text of Isaiah is in general the same as that in Kings, save that it is shorter and that certain somewhat important differences in the vocabulary can be noted, such as, for example, the use of *κύριος* for *θεός*, of *δυνάμεων* for *σαβαώθ*, or of Armenia for Ararat. In general, we see here the same characteristics as in the Septuagint of Jeremiah, and so we may assume that this early Greek text was the original from which the later translations were revised. The bearing of all this on source questions of Kings and Isaiah must be left for later discussion.¹

Since we have proved this Kings text to be that of Theodotion, and that with a mass of confirmatory proof, often extracted from at first seeming hostile witnesses, we naturally ask its relation to the text of our Greek Chronicles which Torrey² has likewise attributed to that translator. Here we have plenty of material, for, in addition to the present Hebrew texts of Kings and Chronicles and the Theodotion translation of Kings, we have also for the last two chapters of Chronicles the I Esdras which Torrey has proved to be a fragment of the actual Septuagint as well as the later Greek translation. The last chapter of Chronicles may be taken for the test. Comparison between I Esdras and the Greek of Chronicles shows not the slightest agreement in the Greek, so that there is no basis for the idea that the two translations are in any way connected. On the other hand, there can be no doubt as to a close connection between the translation of Chronicles and the Theodotion of Kings. However, this does not mean that the two are identical. Rather it indicates that there is exactly the same relation between the Greek of Chronicles and of Kings as between the Greek of Jeremiah and of Isaiah on the one hand and our Theodotonic Kings on the other. The last chapter is a particularly good place to prove this point for here we have additions to the Chronicles which were not in I Esdras or in the Hebrew text. This means that they must have been added after the original Septuagint translation, but before this second one, and their absence in the Hebrew means that they were in all probability taken directly

¹ May we conjecture that here we have a fragment of the Kings Septuagint?

² *Ezra Studies*, 66 ff.

from the Greek of Kings. We should therefore naturally assume that, if the Greek Chronicles is that of Theodotion, our Theodotonic Kings and these added passages would give substantially the same text. The actual fact is that these added passages have exactly the same characteristics as the other parts of the Greek Chronicles. We shall therefore study together all the passages in the last chapter of the Greek Chronicles which are paralleled in Kings. In general, we have the same Greek words and phrases, with the following as the most important differences:

II Kings 23:31, *ονομα τη μητρι* = II Chron. 36:2, *ονομα της μητρος*; 32, *εν οφθαλμοις* = 2, *ενωπιον*; 33, *μετεστησεν* = 2, *εδησεν*; 33, *εδωκεν ζημιαν* = 3, *επεβαλε¹ φορον*; 34, *εβασιλευσεν* = 4, *κατεστησε*; 34, *βασιλεως Ιουδα* = 4, *βασιλεα επι Ιουδα²*; 34, *επεστρεψεν* = 4, *μετεστρεψεν*; 34, *εισηνεγκεν* = 4, *εισηγαγεν αυτον*; 35, *πλην ετιμογραφησαν την γην* = 4, *τοτε ηρξατο η γη φορολογεισθαι*; 35, *επι στοματος* = 4, *επι στομα*; 35, *αηηρ κατα την συντιμησιν* = 4, *εκαστος κατα δυναμιν*; 35, *εδωκεν* = 4, *απητει*; 36, *υιος* = 5, *ων*; 24:1, *ανεβη* = 5, *ηλθε*; 1, *εγενθη δουλος* = 5, *ην δουλεων*; 1, *ηθετησεν εν αυτω* = απεστη απ αυτου; 2, *μονοζωνους³ Μωαβ* = 5, *ληστηρια Μωαβιτων*; 2, *δουλων* = 5, *παιδων*; 3, *επι τον θυμον* = 5, *θυμος*; 3, *εν τω Ιουδα* = 5, *επι Ιουδα*; 3, *αποστησαι⁴* = 5, *του αποστηναι*; 3, *εν αμαρτιας* = 5, *δια τας αμαρτίας*; 5 *κατα παντα οσα εποιησεν* = 5, *εν πασιν ος εποιησε*; 4, *και γε αιμα αθων* = 5, *και εν αιματι αθωω ω*; 4, *ιλασθηναι* = εξολοθρευσαι.

These selections,⁵ which might be added to *in extenso* from other chapters, are sufficient to show that the Greek Chronicles is not from Theodotion, however closely the two may be related, for our only other possibility is to deny the validity of all the other conclusions we have previously reached. And this is confirmed by the likeness to the papyri phraseology of the Chronicles Greek, the references to the Troglodytes and Mineans—this fact of translation instead of transliteration being characteristic of a rather early book—the use of certain words in a peculiarly Ptolemaic sense,⁶ its use of *θεος* for

¹ So GL.

² Om. B, N, 19, 55, 60, 64, 71, 108, 119, 158.

³ For this word as characteristic of Theodotion, cf. Thackeray, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, VIII, 270 ff.

⁴ The MSS vary on both these phrases.

⁵ There are practically no essential variants in the MSS, save that the Lucianic codices have a perverse inclination to insert Chronicles forms in Kings and vice versa.

⁶ Thackeray, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, VIII, 276 f.; cf. *Grammar of O.T.*, xx, 167, note.

Yahweh, a usage found otherwise only in early books,¹ the actual attribution of a reading to Theodotion in Chronicles in a Greek fragment recently found,² and another in Nehemiah, in Codex S,³ all agree with what we have found in declaring that Chronicles is not the work of Theodotion.

But these results are by no means worthless as regards Chronicles. We see here the same differences between it and Theodotion that we have elsewhere learned to notice. The Greek Chronicles is written in better and less literal Greek, the article is better handled and more used, Greek endings are given where Theodotion exactly transliterates. So then, the Greek Chronicles represents a type of text whose analogies to the Septuagint of Isaiah and Jeremiah are clear. Yet behind it is the still earlier translation of I Esdras. Was there a similar translation, earlier than the Septuagint, of the prophetic books? When first proposed, this seems an absurdity. Yet analogy shows it not impossible.

It would appear that we must assume a somewhat similar series of changes to have taken place in the Book of Kings. In the account of the division of the kingdom, as is well known, Codex B and its supporters⁴ have, along with a peculiar translation of our Hebrew text, itself so early that but thirteen of the hexaplaric additions are to be found there,⁵ another which differs so widely from it as to form an independent narrative. The first scholar to recognize that internal credibility clearly proved it to be the earlier and more trustworthy account of the two was the founder of our modern historical method, Leopold von Ranke.⁶ He has been followed more or less fully by Stanley⁷ and Cheyne,⁸ while Benzinger⁹ has given it as full credit as possible when the Hebrew must be taken as a base text. Winckler¹⁰

¹ Redpath, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, VII, 608.

² P. Thomson, *Zf. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, XXXI, 308 f.

³ Torrey, *Esra Studies*, 108.

⁴ The passage is omitted by A, 74, 92, 120, 121, 123, 134, 144, 236, 242, 247, and the Armenian, Vulgate, and Slavonic. The remainder have it in whole or in part. Lucifer of Cagliari, who quotes almost the whole verbatim, is our best authority for the Old Latin.

⁵ Silberstein, *Zf. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, XIII, 69.

⁶ *Weltgeschichte*, III, 2, 4 ff.

⁷ Art. "Jeroboam," *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*.

⁸ Art. "Jeroboam," *Encycl. Biblica*.

⁹ *Könige*, ad loc.

¹⁰ *Alttest. Untersuch.*, 12 ff.

declared its value in the story of the sick child, which has indeed appealed to most scholars as the most probably true part of the section. Other scholars have taken a middle ground. Skinner,¹ after a full discussion, still remains uncertain, but inclines to the belief that, when interpolations are removed, the Greek gives a good story. He rather doubtfully explains that the Greek and the Hebrew accounts came from two different documents, the one northern and the other southern, both of which survived down to Greek times.² H. P. Smith³ says that "the passage partly duplicates the Hebrew text but is in part original." Cornill⁴ thinks that it "to some extent (offers) a more original form of text against the Hebrew recension, and in any case serving to control the latter." W. R. Smith⁵ is more interested in proving that the text was still unsettled at the time the translation was made and tells us that "it is probable that neither account forms any part of the original history" and that the story of the sick child is "in an impossible place." Burney⁶ notes its "inconsistency" with the B translation of the Massoretic text to which he makes it inferior. In part, according to him, it is drawn "from our book of Kings." Sabatier⁷ epigrammatically says it is "repetita, transposita, confusa, male cohaerentia."

But the extreme point of aversion to this story is found in the Stade-Schwally edition of Kings, where we read "The Hebrew text from which G was translated had after this verse a *midrash* describing Jeroboam's life and adventures. This late addition is rather fanciful and very clumsily compiled from elements in the narratives of M. . . . It is an interesting illustration of the history of M but of no value for the interpretation of the Received Text since M was repeatedly misunderstood by the compiler of this *midrash*. The secondary, fanciful, and clumsy character of this midrashic expansion may be inferred from such misunderstandings as the transfer to Shemiah of the prophecy of Ahijah . . . or the dating back of this

¹ *Kings*, 443 ff.

² This had occurred to me at one time, but the general results as to the versions here worked out prevent it.

³ *History*, 177, n. 1.

⁴ *Introd.*, 221.

⁵ *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*?, 118 f.

⁶ *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Kings*, 167 f.

⁷ *Bibl. Sacr. Lat. Vers. Ant.*, I, 2, 572, n. *.

prophecy to the time after Solomon's death. . . . This *midrash* . . . has often misled modern expositors of the Books of Kings.¹ . . . The clumsiness of the editor who canceled vs. 1-20 is eclipsed by the clumsiness of the compiler of the Jeroboam *midrash* who places the story of the illness of Jeroboam's son before the election of the king.² Much the same language is used by Kittel³ who calls the account "einer recht wirren und teilweise gedankenlosen Zusammenstellung von Notizen," speaks of its "innere Unwahrscheinlichkeit," admits that it is given in the words of the earlier tradition, but in "recht freier Weise," and insists "dass 14 1-20 als überflüssig gestrichen werden."

When scholars of such deserved reputation can take this attitude, it is clear that a somewhat detailed examination of this "midrash" is demanded if we are to free the Jeroboam narrative from this reproach. That it forms a well-balanced, consistent, and probable story can best be shown by allowing the narrator to speak in his own words. We shall accordingly first present a translation of his story.

And King Solomon slept with his fathers and was buried with his fathers in the City of David. And Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead in Jerusalem. He was sixteen years old when he began to reign and he reigned twelve⁴ years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Naamah the daughter of Hanun the son of Nahash the king of Ammon. And he did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh and he walked not in the way of David his father.

Now there was a man from Mount Ephraim, a servant of Solomon, and his name was Jeroboam, and the name of his mother was Zeredah,⁵ a harlot.

And Solomon gave him charge over the labor of the house of Joseph.

And he built for Solomon Zeredah which is in Mount Ephraim, and he had thirty chariots.⁶ He built Millo with the labor of the house of Ephraim, he repaired the city of David, and he was exalted over the kingdom. Solomon therefore sought to kill him, but he was afraid and fled unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was with him until the death of Solomon.

And Jeroboam heard in Egypt that Solomon was dead, and he spake in the ears of Shishak king of Egypt, saying, "Let me depart that I may go unto

¹ *Kings*, 130.

² *Ibid.*, 135.

³ *Könige*, 106 f.; cf. *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*², II, 279.

⁴ Seven, N; seventeen GL, and, in different Greek, 56, 64, 71, 119, 244, 245; twenty, Lucifer, ed. Hartel, 42.

⁵ Sarida in 247 on 14:17; otherwise Sarira.

⁶ 44, 107 om. from here.

mine own country." And Shishak said unto him "Ask what thou wilt and I will give it unto thee." (Now Shishak had given to Jeroboam to wife Ano¹ the eldest sister of his wife Thekamina, and she was great among the king's daughters, and she bare to Jeroboam Abijah his son.) But Jeroboam said "Only send me away and I will depart." And Shishak sent him away,² and Jeroboam went forth from Egypt and came to the land of Zeredah which is in Mount Ephraim. And all the tribe of Ephraim assembled together there to Jeroboam³ and Jeroboam built there a fenced camp.⁴

And his son fell sick with an exceeding great sickness. So Jeroboam proceeded to inquire concerning the child. And he said to Ano his wife "Arise, go and ask of God concerning the child, whether he will live from his sickness."⁵ Now there was a man in Shiloh and his name was Ahijah and he was three score years of age and the word of Yahweh was with him. And Jeroboam said to his wife "Arise, take in thy hand for the man of God loaves and cakes for his children and a cluster of grapes and a cruse of honey." And his wife arose⁶ and took in her hand loaves and two cakes and a cluster of grapes and a cruse of honey for Ahijah. And the man was old and his eyes were shut from seeing. And she rose up from Zeredah and went forth. And it came to pass that when she was entering the city to Ahijah the Shilonite, that Ahijah said to his servant, "Go forth, I pray thee, to Ano the wife of Jeroboam and say to her, 'Come in and stay not, for thus saith Yahweh, "I will bring evil against thee."'" So Ano came unto the man of God and Ahijah said to her, "Why bringest thou to me loaves and a cluster of grapes and cakes and a cruse of honey? For thus saith Yahweh, 'Behold thou shalt go forth from my presence and it shall come to pass that when thou enterest the gate of Zeredah that thy maidens shall come forth unto thee and say unto thee, "The child is dead."'" For thus saith Yahweh,⁷ 'Behold I will cut off from Jeroboam every male child, and it shall come to pass that they which die of Jeroboam in the city shall the dogs eat and they which die in the field shall the birds of the heavens eat.'" And the servant mourned, saying, "Alas, my master,⁸ for there is found in him a thing good in the sight of Yahweh." And the woman went away when she had heard it. And it came to pass that when she entered Zeredah, the child died and the sound of the weeping came out unto her.

Then went Jeroboam to Shechem which is in Mount Ephraim and there he assembled together⁹ the tribes of Israel. And Rehoboam the son of Solomon went up there also.¹⁰ And the word of Yahweh came to Shemaiah the

¹ So Greek; Old Latin Anna.

² So GL.

³ So GL.

⁴ 106 om. to end.

⁵ "Go to the man of God and inquire whether our son shall die," Lucifer, 46.

⁶ "And she did as her husband had said unto her," Lucifer, *loc. cit.*; 71 om. to Ahijah.

⁷ 243, 244 om.

⁸ 71 om.

⁹ Add "all" GL.

¹⁰ "Then . . . also" om. N; "and Reh . . . also" om. 245.

Enlamite, saying, "Take to thyself a new garment which has not touched water and rend it into twelve pieces and give to Jeroboam ten pieces¹ and say to him 'Thus saith Yahweh, "Take for thyself the ten² pieces to cast about thee.'"" And Jeroboam took them. Then said Shemaiah "Thus saith Yahweh, 'Over the ten tribes of Israel shalt thou reign.'"³

And the people spake unto Rehoboam the son of Solomon, "Thy father made the yoke grievous upon us and he made grievous the food for his table. Now therefore lighten it upon us and we will serve thee." And Rehoboam said to the people, "Yet three days and I will return answer unto you." And Rehoboam said, "Bring me the elders and I will take counsel with them what answer I shall return to the people on the third day." And Rehoboam spake in their ears according to what the people had said unto him. And the elders of the people said, "Thus thou shalt speak good to the people."⁴ But Rehoboam forsook their counsel and it was not pleasing in his sight. And he sent and brought in the young men that were grown up with him and spake to them the same things, saying,⁵ "Thus and so did the people send unto me." And the young men that were grown up with him said, "Thus shalt thou speak unto the people, saying, 'My little finger is thicker than my father's loins; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.'" And the saying was pleasing in the sight of Rehoboam. And he answered the people as the young men that were grown up with him had counseled him. And all the people spake as one man, each to his neighbor, and they all cried out, "We have no portion in David, neither an inheritance in the son of Jesse; ⁶to your tents, O Israel! For this man is [fit] neither for a ruler nor for a leader."⁷ And all the people were dispersed from Shechem and each man departed to his tent. And Rehoboam made speed to depart and he mounted his chariot and went to Jerusalem. And all the tribe of Judah and all the tribe of Benjamin followed after him.⁸

And it came to pass at the return of the year that Rehoboam assembled all the men of Judah and of Benjamin and went up to fight with Jeroboam in Shechem. And the word of Yahweh came to Shemaiah the man of God, saying,⁹ "Speak to Rehoboam the King of Judah and all the house of Judah and Benjamin and to all the remnant of the people, saying 'Thus saith Yahweh, "Ye shall not go up, neither shall ye fight against your brethren the

¹ So GL.

² So GL; twelve, GB.

³ So GL; GB "to the twelve tribes of Israel" is obviously incomplete.

⁴ So GL; GB "thus the people spake unto thee."

⁵ So GL; GB by mistake places the "saying" at the end of the quotation!

⁶ GL "each."

⁷ "We have . . . leader" in Old Latin according to Ambrose, Sabatier, *ad. loc.* It translated "this man will be," etc.

⁸ So Lucifer, 44 f., makes two tribes follow him.

⁹ So GL.

children of Israel. Return every man to his house¹ for this thing is of me.'"" So they hearkened unto the word of Yahweh and returned and went their way according to the word of Yahweh.²

That this text is composite in the last analysis is of course quite obvious and it is not impossible that it has had additions later made to it. But this should not prevent us from seeing that, just as it stands, it is a whole. We shall therefore first test it as to its internal credibility and then compare it with the parallel account given by the present Hebrew text. To begin with the most obvious fact, it is clear that we do not have here to do with a purely Greek story, for every single phrase can be easily recognized as a translation of some well-known phrase of Hebrew. In fact, if we attempt to thus work out the original Hebrew text behind it, we find no great difficulty in securing it, and, when secured with the aid of Hatch and Redpath's Concordance, it will be found that this Hebrew is that used in the pre-exilic writings, and especially in the prophetic cycles incorporated in our books of Kings.³ Yet this is no painful word for word translation; the writer has attempted to make as good Greek as possible for a translation. For instance, participles are used freely, and we even have two cases of the genitive absolute.⁴ All the affinities of style and language are with the early rather than with the later translators of the "Septuagint."

From the standpoint of the story-teller, the narrative is self-consistent and the unities are well preserved. The introductory passage is clearly editorial, no doubt that of the editor who made the last revision before the time of the Septuagint. This framework is the same that we find in the other parts of Kings, though we have other and new facts given. "And he did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh" is a characteristic expression of that editor, for that it is pre-Septuagintal is proved by its occurrence in I Esdras 1:39, 44, 47. Then comes the real story which begins, as all good stories

¹ "Tent" G^L.

² The value of G^L here well illustrates the value of the original text which was used by Lucian for revision, especially when its use is checked as here by the Old Latin. Of course this is a very different matter from that of the elements due to Lucian himself.

³ Such a translation into Hebrew has actually been worked out. While there are a few difficulties, most of it is mechanical putting down of the phrases given by Hatch and Redpath.

⁴ 12:24k, l.

should, with "There was a man." His father's name is not given for the later interest in genealogies which found such a name in that of his son—reading with most of the Greek manuscripts Nabat for Nadab¹—had not yet arisen. The reason for this lack of a father is at once given, his mother was a harlot. Nor is this intended as a slur on the ancestry of the hero,² rather it is told in the perfectly matter of fact way of the days when the business was still perfectly legitimate.³ Then we have credited to him all the building activity of the reign. It is easy to see how this might have been transferred from him to the mighty Solomon, it is not so easy to see how a later generation, and one not in sympathy with Jeroboam and the Northern Kingdom, could have done so. And the reason Solomon had for killing him is perfectly natural, that fear of a too powerful subordinate which has blighted the career of so many an oriental official.⁴ Jeroboam is naturally eager to return when he learns of the death of Solomon, but Shishak seeks to dissuade him, offering him anything he wishes if he will remain.⁵ This offer naturally brings to the mind of the narrator the greatest of the gifts of Shishak to Jeroboam, that of his sister-in-law,⁶ which in turn leads to the mention of the birth of their son Abijah. Jeroboam, however, insists that he must go, and so he returns to his home town where he raises the standard of revolt and is joined by his tribe.

Meanwhile, the long journey from Egypt and the unsanitary character of the camp has caused the boy Abijah to fall sick. Jeroboam himself is needed in the camp where the revolt is being prepared and so is unable to go for aid, but his wife is free to visit the well-known "man of God" at Shiloh. Since the life of a child is

¹ Practically all the manuscripts have Nabat, I Kings 15:25, 27, 31. Codex A has Nabad in 27, and Nabat on 14:20. In the latter passage, there are no less than thirteen MSS where we have *εβασιλευσεν* [N]abab. This means that the N has been dropped because of the previous *ν* in *εβασιλευσεν*.

² So Kittel, *Gesch.*, II, 279.

³ The later text has made her more respectable and calls her a widow!

⁴ "Solomon's attempt to kill Jeroboam . . . comes in very awkwardly without any narrative preceding to explain the king's action," Burney, *Text*, 167.

⁵ Ranke, *Weltgesch.*, III, 2, 8, explains this as taking place after the death of Solomon, whose Egyptian wife would have sufficed to hold him in a dependent position.

⁶ Is it possible that "she was great among the king's daughters" is due to the consciousness that these two sisters were daughters of the last king of the preceding dynasty and that through them the right to the throne was given to Shishak and the solar blood to his descendants?

in question, she is particularly careful to bring cakes for his children, hoping thus to enlist the paternal sympathies of the prophet. Then comes the threshold warning, followed by the direct pronouncing of the doom. The sorrow of the servant clearly represents that of the narrator, that the mysterious doom of Yahweh should so early destroy the house of the man who gave independence to Israel. For artistic effect, the ending "When she entered Zeredah, the child died and the sound of the weeping came out unto her" can hardly be excelled.

The revolt has by this time become so dangerous that Rehoboam goes to Shechem where Jeroboam has already arrived. Shemaiah the prophet, politically opposed to Ahijah, by his symbolic act gives the ten tribes to Jeroboam. The people are still willing to retain Rehoboam as their ruler, but he obstinately refuses to lighten their burdens, and so the tribes are forced into the hands of Jeroboam. Rehoboam flees home. He collects an army to regain his kingdom, but Shemaiah, true to his political leanings, refuses to permit the armies actually to fight.

The truth in this narrative it is not our business here to decide, for here we are simply laying the foundations for a later study of the history by working out the problems of the sources to be used in such a history. All we need to emphasize here is the fact that, as a story, it is perfectly consistent, and that it as consistently represents the point of view of a member of the Northern Kingdom.¹ This should be obvious from the general tone alone, that of admiration for Jeroboam's success and sorrow for the untimely fate of his dynasty, and the more obvious from the sharp contrast of "this man is fit neither for a ruler nor for a leader" as applied to Rehoboam. The large use of Elohim, represented in the Greek by *θεος*, is a well-known indication of northern origin. Such expressions as "man of God," "alas my master," "bring evil upon," the manner of cutting off,² the servant of the man of God, the threshold warning, all point to kinship with the northern cycle of prophetic stories incorporated in our Book of Kings.

Let us now turn to the rival account as given us by our present Hebrew text. The contrast is sharp, in fact, we seem hardly to be

¹ So Skinner, *Kings*, *loc. cit.*

² This expression is certainly not "Deuteronomistic" as Driver, *Introduction*, 191.

reading the same stories. This comes out particularly well in the story of the sick child. The tone is entirely different, for instead of the naïve tale of the Greek, we have one full of moralizings in the well-known phraseology of the so-called "Deuteronomistic" reviser. Note such phrases as "my servant David," "doing evil above all that were before thee"—a nonsensical expression as applied to Jeroboam—the sin of Jeroboam, the scattering of the people beyond the river, all recognized as certainly "Deuteronomistic," and the last, at least, as certainly post-exilic. The placing of the story after the king's accession has made a disguise necessary. Tirza is taken as the capital, though, from even the present Hebrew text of I Kings 15:21, it is clear that it was not made the capital before the dynastic change under Baasha. In fact, Tirza is not to be found even in the Aquila revision of the story. The close, instead of the artistic simplicity and beauty of the Jeroboam narrative, is as prosaic as we should expect it to be coming from a man who was capable of making the other "Deuteronomistic" additions. The whole point of view, indeed, is that of a Judaeon to whom Jeroboam was, not the hero who gave independence to Israel, but "the man who made Israel to sin."

We find the same conditions when we come to study the story of the rent garment. As it stands in our present Hebrew text, it has long been recognized as a slight prophetic core with many "Deuteronomistic" accretions.¹ The prophecy is attributed to Ahijah instead of Shemiah, an impossible attribution when we remember the anti-Jeroboam attitude of that prophet shown in the story of the sick child.² Nor is it well fitted to its context. Although the prophecy took place, according to the "Deuteronomistic" reviser, when "they two were alone³ in the field," or even, if we accept the addition made by the Greek translator of the Massoretic text, after Ahijah had "taken him aside from the way," yet it is because of this that Solomon sought to kill Jeroboam. One wonders what miracle was brought into play to bring this knowledge to the ears of Solomon.⁴ The Jeroboam narrative, on the other hand, is perfectly rational, from the oriental

¹ Cf. Burney, *Text*, 170.

² So Ranke, *Weltgesch.*, III, 2, 11.

³ Lucifer, 44, om. "alone."

⁴ Cf. W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 119.

standpoint, in indicating that Solomon sought to slay him because he was "magnified over the kingdom."

There is less difference in the accounts of the actual secession but the story given in the present Hebrew text is much longer, most of the additions being due to the repetitious character of the "Deuteronomistic" reviser. It is easy to see why the later Judæan writer suppressed the sarcastic remark "for this man is fit neither for a ruler nor for a leader." The stoning of Adoniram is omitted.¹ Very interesting is the manner in which both versions state that "the tribe of Judah followed" Rehoboam. With the Jeroboam narrative, Judah and Benjamin follow him from Shechem in his flight, the statement being made as a sober historical fact. The "Deuteronomistic" reviser makes it metaphorical, thus following his usual moralizing tendencies.

As this passage is connected with Shemaiah in the earlier accounts, it is no surprise to us to find that the one following is also connected with that prophet. This agrees closely with the later version, save for one instructive exception. The poor Chronicler has been blamed, often rightly enough, for his huge numbers. But our text of Kings, at least as it stands, is not free from that blemish. Our Massoretic text of that book, 12:21, gives us 180,000 as the number of the army. Now the fact that the Chronicler also has this 180,000 would naturally be taken as proof that he here copied Kings, and so that his work was compiled after our Massoretic text had assumed practically its present form. But the fact that we have no evidence for the real "Septuagint" of this part of Chronicles should give us pause. It is much more probable that this huge number, so like those of the Chronicler and so unlike those of Kings, was taken from Chronicles by the "Deuteronomistic" reviser, or by an even later annotator, and this would then point to the knowledge of Chronicles by one of the men who operated with the text before that text reached its final form in the Massoretic edition. This does not raise any difficulty so far as the date of Chronicles is concerned, for no scholar would reduce its date so late as to prevent this supposition. But it does raise a very serious question as to the relative relation of the *present* texts of Kings and of Chronicles. And it shows us clearly that agreement of

¹ Found only in 246.

the two proves nothing as to what was in their common source, for harmonization must always be considered a possibility. We should also note that the 180,000 is also in Josephus.¹ It is quite possible, if not probable, that he found this only in the Chronicler's account so that this can hardly be used to date the recension before or after his time. As an actual fact the Greek translation of the later story almost unanimously² gives the army but 120,000, so this may have been the original reading in Kings.

We have then, in these two documents, two versions, or rather, editions, of the same original, but differing so much that they hardly seem at first glance to be connected. One seems to give us the real Septuagint, at any rate, it has preserved to us narratives which are practically unchanged from their original form and which clearly indicate their northern origin. The other is so changed in order and in character of event, and so overloaded with pious reflections that it practically gives us an entirely new work. But these are not merely isolated editions. Rather they stand at the two extremes of a development whose stages can in part still be traced.

The first stage is that witnessed by the Old Latin, as found in Lucifer.³ The greater part of the Jeroboam story proper is still preserved. But the narrative of the rent garment, even to the "Solomon has forsaken me" and the "keeping my statutes and judgments," is given the form found in our present Massoretic edition.⁴ A development apparently peculiar to the Old Latin, or its Syrian original, is found in "and it came to pass when all Israel heard that Jeroboam was returned from Egypt that they sent and called him into the congregation and made him king in Israel,"⁵ which does not quite fit with any of the other editions.

The next stage is represented by the Greek translation of those parts of the later narrative which are represented by Codex B and its supporters. Here, as in other parts of Kings, the B text is still much shorter than our Massoretic text, there being but thirteen of

¹ *Ant.*, VIII, 222.

² With the exception only of A, 247, and the Armenian.

³ Ed. Hartel, 44.

⁴ Of course it is possible that this is due to a later scribe as we have only one manuscript of Lucifer and that of the tenth century. But the peculiarities of the Old Latin are so well preserved elsewhere that we have no reason to suspect scribal correction.

⁵ Ed. Hartel, 43.

the additions witnessed for the later translations, and some of these ascriptions seem to be erroneous.¹ The majority of the additions found in our present Hebrew are added in Codex A. They are very largely taken from Aquila² and this text may be taken as the third in the development from the original text represented by our Septuagint fragments. Such additions, not found in the B translation, and therefore dating later than this Greek translation of the more developed Hebrew text, are "and the name of his mother was Zeruah," 11:26, a clear case of taking the ethnic of the earlier narrative as a proper name; "he also lifted up his hand against the king," *ibid*; "and to keep my statutes and my ordinances,"³ 34; "and will give Israel unto thee and I will for this afflict the seed of David but not forever," 38 f., the last half of which seems to point to Maccabaeen attempts at political influence in the name of religion; "and it came to pass when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard of it, for he was yet in Egypt whither he had fled from the presence of King Solomon, and Jeroboam dwelt in Egypt, and they sent and called him, that Jeroboam and all the assembly came," 12:2-3a; "and answer them," 7; "Jeroboam," 12; "when all Israel heard that," 16; "but as for the children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned over them," 17; "all Israel," "to his chariot," 18; "the house," 21, also omitted in Chronicles. Some of these additions are naturally of little importance but those worth notice are clearly "Deuteronomistic" in tone.

A fourth stage, whether in part or in whole earlier than the one last mentioned it is impossible to decide, is that of the present form of Chronicles, for the Greek translation of this later form differs so little from the current Hebrew text, only by the omission of "when they saw" and "every man" in 10:16, that we may study the two together. When we compare Chronicles with our present form of Kings, we see that this, in its *present* state, cannot possibly have been the source of even the later edition of Chronicles, though this is

¹ Silberstein, *Zif. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, XIII, 69.

² Silberstein, *loc. cit.* The apparatus in Burkitt, *Fragments of Aquila*, on the other hand, brings out sharply what was obvious enough already from the citations in Field, that Aquila is the one writer who has had no influence on the text of the B group. The additions in Codex A are accordingly sharply differentiated from the text to which they are added. Cf. also Thackeray, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, IV, 584, n. 1.

³ Already in the Old Latin as found in Lucifer.

usually assumed without question. The work of the Chronicler, even in its later form, regularly has the shorter text, and this alone speaks in favor of its relative antiquity. Our later edition of the Chronicler's work may have been, indeed, probably was, harmonized with an edition of Kings later than that back of the Septuagint translation, but if it was, at that time Kings did not have "yet," 2; "assembly" (קהל), 3; "this day," "serve them," 7; "which," 9; "this," 10; "will chastise you," 11:14; "the people," "which they had given him," 13; "to your yoke," 14; "and the rest of the people," 23; "children of Israel," 24; and the substitution of "according to the word of Yahweh" for "against Jeroboam." All these are minor additions, it is true, and their enumeration would seem rather to belong to a study of textual criticism than to that of the sources. But they do prove one point of vital importance for source study, they prove that our present Kings represents a later edition of the common text than does even the later form of the Chronicler. And that proves, beyond any doubt, that the later form of Chronicles was *not* taken, present theories to the contrary, from our present form of Kings. And that reopens the whole question as to the relative relations of Kings and Chronicles in their original forms.

A beautiful illustration of the evil effect of the feeling that our present text of Chronicles must always and ever be explained from our present text of Kings is shown in vs. 21. Here Kings has added "all," "the tribe," "house," "son of Solomon," the last an example of that later genealogical interest which has added literally hundreds of "sons of" which were not to be found in the original of the Septuagint. Yet our latest commentator on Chronicles¹ can say "The Chronicler has thus, without impairing the narrative, shortened the verse by the omission of five words." Were he not under the influence of a theory, he would hardly have made a suggestion so opposed to the general experience of students of the text, for no reason for such a curious set of omissions, which do not impair the narrative, can be found, and probability is, other things being equal, always in favor of the shorter text.

Possibly we should attribute some importance to the omission by the Chronicler of vs. 20, though this is generally explained by saying

¹ Curtis, *ad loc.*

that he made the omission because he is narrating only the history of the Southern Kingdom.¹ However, we should note that it is the only verse omitted in this account, that the Chronicler is not accustomed to omit single sentences thus imbedded in his text, and that the tone of the verse is late, for example, it uses **עדה**, "congregation," a priestly word. So perhaps we may take this verse as an addition made after the later Greek translation. On the other hand, its omission in even this translation of Kings shows that vs. 17 is a late harmonization of Kings to Chronicles, another argument against the prevailing view as to the relation of the two works. If we could only be sure of his use of proper names, we might argue that his use of the form Shemiah in this passage points to an original form, for neither Kings nor Chronicles elsewhere uses anything but Shemaiah. Our conclusion must be that in the Chronicles account of the division we have a stage much later than that used for the Septuagint of Kings and even later than the Greek translation of the more developed text given in the B group, though a good bit earlier than the form of Kings given in our present Hebrew Bibles. That any future discussion of the relation of Kings to Chronicles must consider these facts must be clear.

Still later than this must be placed the Greek translation of the story of the sick child. It has generally been believed that it represents the translation of Aquila, and indeed the traces of that author are unmistakable.² But the story in this form is much earlier than his time, it is already in Josephus, and so must date from at least about 50 A.D. But it has been shown³ that this is only a revision of a part of our Jeroboam story "into a general but not complete accordance with Aquila's version." The importance of this proof that the story, as found in Codex A, is based on our Jeroboam account, in establishing the still earlier date of that narrative, is obvious. Still another trace of the fact that 14:1-18 is a late insertion is found in the manuscript 243 where the summary in 14:19 f. is placed, though under the asterisk, at the end of chap. 13, no doubt its original place before the story of the child in its new form was forced between them.

¹ Curtiss, *ad loc.*

² It is attributed to Aquila by the Syro-Hexaplar.

³ Burkitt, *Fragments*, 33 f.

Even this Aquila text does not represent quite the latest form for the home of Jeroboam is still Zeredah and not Tirza as in the present Hebrew text, the "man of God" and the "cluster of grapes" of the original account is still in verse 3, and the "departed" of verse 17 has not yet been added. So we see the Hebrew continually growing, even to the time when the text was finally fixed.

The history of this whole section of Kings may now be summed up as follows. At some time not much later than the translation of the Law—before the time of Ptolemy IV (221–204), if we are to assume that the Demetrius who wrote a book on the kings of Judah really used a Greek translation¹—the original Jeroboam story was translated as part of a more or less complete translation of the work, other fragments of which have also survived in the B text. Not long after this, and probably as a consequence of the renewed interest in the history of the earlier kingdom excited by the rise of the Hasmoneans, it was rewritten from a Pharisaic standpoint, and it is this edition, in not far from its original form, that is given in the later account in Codex B. At this time it was that the greatest number of alterations were made and the characteristic "Deuteronomic" coloring given. But the account had by no means ceased its growth. Some time after this edition was made, the text of Chronicles was harmonized to it, after which there was practically no change in the text of that work. A large number of additions were made after this time, say after the Christian era, and these it is that we find preserved in the later translations. The story of the child was worked over by the time of Josephus² and after this there were but minor additions to the text.

Nor are the lessons which the historian may learn from this excursion into the field of textual criticism confined to the Jeroboam narrative, valuable as they are. For it is in the hints it gives us as regards the history and development of the text and its use in historical criticism that its greatest value lies. Nowhere can we trace more in detail the various steps in the radical revision of the earlier writings which took place in the late Greek and early Roman period. And it furnishes a striking warning against trusting too much to the integrity

¹ *Frag. Hist. Graec.* III, 208.

² It is curious that Josephus regularly supports the Massoretic text in Kings, though for Chronicles he had I Esdras. No doubt the Jeroboam story had completely disappeared, while the I Esdras fragment was still known.

of the text which has come down to us. If, in this one passage where a fragment of the real Septuagint has been accidentally preserved, we find such revision, how can we be certain that equally radical revision has not taken place elsewhere where we have no such check? For this is not merely growth of the text, due to the natural errors of scribes and correctors. What we see here is revision, and revision so radical that wherever it is met, it so seriously affects not only the form but the content to such an extent that the historian must ever and always be on his guard against it. Certainly enough evidence has been collected in the preceding pages to show that a greater suspicion of the Massoretic edition, even when seemingly buttressed by the so-called "Septuagint," is amply justified.

But how may this suspicion be made intelligent when we attempt to apply it to the problem of our sources? Save for the introductory paragraph, we have in the Jeroboam story only the style and vocabulary of the prophetic writings found elsewhere in Kings, and which, at least in the Elijah-Elisha cycles, have been preserved to us virtually untouched by the "Deuteronomistic" coloring. Here, too, in the original form of the Jeroboam story, the "Deuteronomistic" coloring is likewise absent. The importance of this fact for the student of the sources can hardly be over-emphasized, for the later edition, not to speak of the still later additions, is full of the expressions attributed to the "Deuteronomistic" writer or writers. The full importance of this statement can be felt only when, in its light, one has perused the list of the most characteristic phrases or words of the "Deuteronomistic" editor of Kings as given by Driver.¹ Of the forty-eight there given, sixteen, or just one-third, are found in those sections for which, as we have seen, the original Septuagint gives no testimony. These are (2) "walk in my ways," 11:33, 38; (3) "keep my statutes and my ordinances," 11:34, 38; 14:8; (6) "that he might establish his word," 12:15; (13) "chosen out of all the tribes of Israel," 11:32; (14) "which I have chosen me to put my name there," 11:36; (16) "to cut off from upon the ground," 14:15; (20) "do that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh," 11:6; (22a) "for my servant David's sake," 11:32, 34; (22b) "David" 11:33, 38; 14:8; (23) "which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel," 11:32, 36; (24) "to do that

which is right in my eyes," 11:33, 38; 14:8; (25) "that David my servant may have a lamp," 11:36; (26) "to provoke me to anger," 14:9; (29) "made Israel to sin," 14:16; (45) "at that time," 14:1; (48) "forasmuch as" 14:7. If to these we add the less characteristic expressions listed by Burney,¹ we have (6) "with all his heart," 14:8; (13) "which I gave to the fathers," 14:15; (28) "all the days," 11:36, 39; (29) "other gods," 14:9; (37) "and it shall be if thou wilt hearken," 11:38; (39) "vex," 14:9, 15; (40) "from this good land," 14:15; (66) "done evil above all that were before thee," 14:9; (69) "I will utterly sweep away," 14:10; (70) "he that dwelleth," etc., 14:11. That one-third of the most characteristic expressions of the so-called "Deuteronomistic" reviser should be found as characteristic of passages whose date is certainly later than the time of the Septuagint translation cannot but lead us to wonder whether this same "Deuteronomistic" reviser is not himself of such a late date. And there is yet other evidence to prove the very late, post-Septuagintal use of these very characteristic "Deuteronomistic" phrases. It has long been a commonplace that many of these expressions are common to Jeremiah.² What has not, however, been realized is the fact that a good proportion of these common expressions can not be found in the Septuagint of Jeremiah, in other words, that they, too, date after that translation. Of the expressions characteristic of the "Deuteronomist," as listed by Driver and Burney, (D. 20) "do that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh" is found in Jer. 52:2 only under the asterisk; (D. 26) "provoke me to anger," in Jer. 25:7, is found only in Aquila and Theodotion; (D. 11) "as it is this day" is witnessed only for the "Three" in 44:23, while not even they have it in 25:18; (D. 17) "dismiss from before thy face" is under the asterisk in Jer. 15:1; (D. 39) "my servants the prophets" is witnessed only by Theodotion in Jer. 29:19; (D. 33) "idols" is likewise witnessed only by Theodotion in Jer. 50:2; (D. 37) "burnt incense," in 11:12, is given only by Aquila and Theodotion; (B. 28) "all the days," in Jer. 33:18, is only in Theodotion; (B. 29) "other gods," in 44:15, is not found in the codices which usually have the shorter text, B and S; (B. 41) "under green hills and upon the high

¹ Art. "Kings," *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; cf. *Text of Kings*, xiii f.

² Driver, *Introd.*, 193.

hills," in 17:2, is only in Theodotion. Driver¹ also gives a short list of expressions common to Kings and Jeremiah. Of these, "testified" is only in Theodotion in 11:7, and the same is true of "hearkened not" in the same verse. "To vex me with the works of their hands" is only in Aquila and Theodotion in 25:7, and in Aquila and Symmachus in 32:30.

All this massing of testimony can lead us to but one result. These expressions are late for the passages in which they occur are often post-Septuagintal. This does not of itself prove that they are post-Septuagintal or even post-exilic. It is possible that some of these were used in the days of the monarchy. But a very large proportion of these are undoubtedly post-Septuagintal, and every case which can be so dated reduces by just so many the cases which by any possibility can be assigned to earlier dates. But this evidence does most decidedly throw the burden of proof on any one who attempts to prove that any passage in which these expressions occur is before the time of Alexander. Such cases may be made out—but very strong evidence for an early date must be used to counterbalance the evidence for a late date furnished by the occurrence of these expressions.

But here a word of caution is necessary. We may not go so far as to say that all the passages in Kings which have been assigned to the "Deuteronomistic" editor are post-Septuagintal. Indeed, these passages fall into two sharply defined groups, the framework and the longer narratives and pious reflections. We have seen that our Jeroboam story has the usual framework introduction and even the "doing evil in the sight of Yahweh." We might think this framework a later interpolation, did we not have a similar one, even to the "doing evil in the sight of Yahweh," proved to be pre-Septuagintal by its occurrence in I Esdras, an occurrence still further proved by its being found in the Old Latin.² We must assume, then, that the framework is pre-Septuagintal. But even this has too many analogies to the longer portions to allow it to be much earlier. Further investigation is likely to prove it to belong to the Persian period and more probably to the later than to the earlier half. But this lateness of date is at least compensated by the disassociation of its data, numerous as they are, from the works of the man who rewrote the longer

¹ Driver, *Introd.*, 193.

² Codex Colbert. in Sabatier.

passages. These facts the historian can now use with much more confidence.

But this by no means proves that the passages of considerable length and written in the style which has been called "Deuteronomistic" are equally early or valuable. For a very considerable part of this so-called "Deuteronomistic" writing, we have already definitely proved that it is later than the time of the Septuagint. The natural assumption is that the remainder is from the same date. But what is more striking is that there are, with but one sure exception, II Kings 8: 19, no signs of "Deuteronomistic" re-editings in a good half of the book, from I Kings, chap. 17, to II Kings, chap. 16. This of course is the group of prophetic writings whose likeness to the passages we have proved to be early we have so frequently noted. When we find that for the central half the "Deuteronomistic" re-editing is absent entirely, when we find it only appearing in isolated places here and there in the other portions, when in these portions we find that checking up by the real Septuagint, where we have it, shows it absent there too, our only conclusion is that, if we had the earliest Greek translation of this book entire, the "Deuteronomistic" passages of length would all be missing.

It is hardly necessary to point out how profoundly all this must modify our ideas as to the composition of the Book of Kings. We shall probably not much modify our general attribution of sources to the pre-exilic period. But the framework must certainly be placed much later, even if we accept its data as having less of a "tendency" than we once attributed to it when we took it in company with the longer "Deuteronomistic" passages. As for the mass of pious reflections, we can hardly do less than to make them all post-Septuagintal as the most of them certainly are.

And with this must go most of the passages used to prove the pre-exilic date of the editor of Kings. It is not without significance that the passage upon which Burney¹ most rests for the early date is that "David my servant may have a lamp alway before me in Jerusalem," which we have seen was not yet in our text at the time of the Septuagint translation!² Nor can the expression "unto this day" be

¹ Art. "Kings," *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; cf. *Text of Kings*, xvi, 107.

² The Aramaic ending ין in צדניך in vs. 33 also points to a late date for the Hebrew.

pressed to prove this theory. "Unto this day," in 12:19, is later than the Septuagint, and the same expression in 8:8 is later even than the translators used in the Hexapla. The three cases in II Kings, chap. 17, in vss. 23, 34, and 41, by their very context show that they were not written until the Samaritan schism had become acute,¹ and of course cannot possibly apply to pre-exilic times. Indeed, the section as a whole is so in the tone of our post-Septuagintal "Deuteronomistic" passages that we may attribute it to the same reviser. The other cases of "Unto this day" clearly belong to pre-exilic sources or to the author of the framework.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to discuss in detail the other passages which may be attributed to the "Deuteronomistic" reviser, much less the fragments of the real Septuagint or the more general question as to the sources of Kings. These must await a later investigation. The present paper has discussed a group of questions which are interrelated each with the other, and all of which can be illuminated by a study of the form in which the narratives were at the time when the earliest Greek translation was made. The method of the investigation has been of necessity largely textual, and it may have sometimes been forgotten that we are not interested in textual questions as such, merely as aids to the determination of the number and value of the sources which we must use in our reconstruction of the history.

From this discussion, there have emerged certain facts which may be used for later investigations. From the standpoint of historical criticism, the most important is the knowledge that the Book of Kings, as we have it now, represents not only the usual number of late additions, but is a thorough revision of post-Septuagintal date in which some passages have been thoroughly edited and many pious reflections added. There are many even later additions, but these are not homogeneous, for we can trace the gradual growth of the text and some of the phrases can be connected with post-Septuagintal phrases elsewhere. When all this has been deducted, we have the pre-Septuagintal form which must be not far from that in which the author of the framework, who must have lived in the Persian period, left it. Deducting his framework, a very easy matter, we have a

¹ Cf. Burney, *Text*, 333.

group of largely pre-exilic sources whose relationships demand further study. Chronicles has not come down to us in its earliest form, and arguments based on identity of text in the present forms of Chronicles and Kings are precarious in nature and in some cases may be shown to be inaccurate. Whatever the relation of the original work of the Chronicler to the man who made the framework of Kings, the present form of Chronicles is sometimes earlier than that given in our present Kings. All this is what on a priori grounds we should expect, for it is absurd to accept Maccabaeian psalms and prophecies and to still believe that the much more important history remained, as the present theory of the composition of Kings demands, practically untouched. That the Chronicler was the only man who re-wrote the history from the new point of view is extremely improbable, and in our Massoretic text we have the last form of another history, perhaps more closely based on the earlier Book of Kings, but coming from the same period and with much the same general type of thought.

It will be seen that some of the conclusions drawn differ radically from those now held as to Kings and Chronicles. But they are based on undoubted facts which seem not to have been appreciated hitherto. It is possible to minimize their importance by refusing to admit that the Septuagint, taken as a whole, and being sure that we have the real Septuagint, represents a more primitive stage of the text and that the shorter reading is, other things being equal, the better. Assuming, as the majority of us do, that these propositions are true, the remainder of our conclusions follow, it would seem, as a matter of course. But whether these conclusions are accepted or not, here are facts which the former students of the sources have but little attempted to explain. When satisfactory explanations have been found for these and similar facts connected with the study of the various Greek translations, we shall have already solved some of the most fundamental problems connected with the study of the historical criticism of our Old Testament. When we have done this, we shall no longer take the Massoretic text as a standard, but shall attempt to see what can be learned of the history of the accounts after the Septuagint translation, and then, with this knowledge, and with the edition used by the Septuagint as further basis, attack the much more complicated task of the historical criticism.

THE ORDEAL IN NUM., CHAP. 5

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The arguments for the assertion that the law concerning the mode of procedure in a case of suspected adultery of a wife combined two originally distinct, though kindred, ordinances were so ably and convincingly presented by Stade¹ that the fact of compilation has since been generally admitted, though Stade's particular solution has not been so generally accepted. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby² and Baentsch³ followed Stade's analysis in the main and suggested certain improvements.⁴ As a point of departure for our criticism and contribution we may take Carpenter's and Harford-Battersby's reconstruction of the two ordinances.

"In the following arrangement the phrases in small italics are assigned to the harmonist.

A

(Defiled and cursed, a condemnation.)

11 And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, 12 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him, 13a and a man lie with her carnally, and it be hid from the eyes of her husband, 13c and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken in the act . . . 15 then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest,

B

(Defiled or clean, a test.)

29 This is the law of jealousy, When a wife, being under her husband, goeth aside, *and is defiled*. 13b and it be kept close and she be defiled, 30a or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon a man, and he be jealous over his wife, 14b and she be not defiled; 30b then shall he set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. 16 And the priest shall

¹ ZAW, 1895, pp. 166-78, reprinted in *Ausgewählte Akademische Reden und Abhandlungen*.

² *The Hexateuch*, Vol. II, 1900, pp. 191-93. Carpenter's and Harford-Battersby's analysis is accepted by Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, 1901, Vol. IV, of his *Student's Old Testament*.

³ "Numeri," in Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, 1903.

⁴ "The separation proposed by Stade (ZAW, 1895, pp. 166-78) has been followed in the main, but the division set forth here endeavors to avoid some difficulties to which his distribution was exposed."

Stade had assigned to A vs. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22a, 23, 24, 25b, 26a, 31; to B vs. 29, 13a, 14b, 30b, 18a, 21, 22b, 25ab, 27, 28.

Baentsch assigned to A vs. 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25ab, 27a, 28, to B vs. 12b, 13, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25b, 26, 27b.

A

and shall bring her oblation for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is a meal offering of jealousy, a meal offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance. 18 And the priest shall set the woman before Yahweh, and let the hair of the woman's head go loose, and put the meal offering of memorial in her hands, *which is the meal offering of jealousy*: and the priest shall have in his hand the water of bitterness *that causeth the curse*: 21 *then the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of cursing*, and the priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, when Yahweh doth make thy thigh to fall away, and thy belly to swell. 23 And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot them out into the water of bitterness: 24 and he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness *that causeth the curse*: *and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter*. 27b And the woman shall be a curse among her people . . . 25b and [he] shall bring it unto the altar: 26 and the priest shall take an handful of the meal offering, as the memorial thereof, and burn it upon the altar. 31 And the man shall be free from iniquity, and that woman shall bear her iniquity.

B

bring her near, and set her before Yahweh: 17 and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is on the floor of the dwelling the priest shall take, and put it into the water; 19 and the priest shall cause her to swear, and shall say unto the woman, If no man have lien with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness, being under thy husband, be thou free from this water of bitterness that causeth the curse: 20 but if thou hast gone aside, being under thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lien with thee besides thine husband: 22 then this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to fall away: and the woman shall say, Amen, Amen. 25 And the priest shall take the meal offering of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the meal offering before Yahweh, 26b and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. 27 And when he hath made her drink the water, then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, *and have committed a trespass against her husband*, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall fall away. 28 And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean, then she shall be free, and shall conceive seed.

R

14 And the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife."¹

The starting-point of the analysis is this, "the law as it stands really contains two views of the incriminated woman: in one scheme it is proposed to ascertain whether she is innocent or guilty: in the

¹ *The Hexateuch*, Vol. II, p. 192.

other her guilt needs no demonstration, but only draws on her the priestly doom."¹

But it is just this starting-point that is open to serious criticism. As Gray² and Holzinger³ have seen, two cogent arguments are to be brought forward against the whole analysis. To quote Gray, "(1) according to the analysis *a* (see 12*b* 13 *ac*) as well as *b* presupposes an offense unprovable by ordinary process of law, that is to say, presupposes circumstances such as those under which ordeals are generally resorted to; the crime is one which has been committed without the knowledge of the husband or any other witness. (2) The proceedings with the waters of bitterness correspond to proceedings in the case of ordeal, but have no analogy in the Hebrew law with regard to clearly proved cases of adultery, for which an entirely different punishment was provided."⁴ This criticism is quite just. But we should not decide with Gray that "literary analysis in the present instance, even if justifiable, appears too uncertain,"⁵ but rather to go on with Holzinger and try to perfect the analysis.

Holzinger suggests that probably two ordeals were combined, the one (A) in which "a formula of a curse is risked in connection with a *minḥa* and in which the decision of God is provoked by the offering," the other (B) in which "a magic potion is prepared and drunk after an adjuration." He believes that the introduction, vss. 12*b*–14, 15*aa*, belongs to both. Then the parallelism begins, to A belong vss. 15*aβγ* (from the second *and he shall bring on*) 18*a* (without *it is an offering of jealousy*) 21, 22*b*, 25, 26*a*; to B vss. 16, 17, 19*, 20, 22*a*, 24. Indissoluble are vss. 27 (where 27*aγ* belongs to B, 27*b* to A) and 28. To A belongs probably also vs. 29 (30), to B vs. 31. Redactional elements are vss. 18*b*, 26*b*, and the first three words of vs. 27. Vs. 23 is a late addition.

¹ *The Hexateuch*, Vol. II, p. 192.

² *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Vol. II, p. 2343, s.v. "Jealousy."

³ "Numeri erklärt," 1903, in Marti's *Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament*.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ In his *Commentary* also Gray is quite skeptical in regard to the literary analysis and leaves both explanations open, "the text has either been interpolated and otherwise modified, or it rests on a compilation from two parallel but distinct *isrôth*." And he says further of Stade's and Carpenter's and Harford-Battersby's reconstruction, "any such analysis can in detail only reach a very moderate degree of probability," *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, 1903, p. 49 ("International Critical Commentary"). It is a pity that the three commentaries by Baentech, Gray, and Holzinger appeared independently of each other in the same year, 1903.

Though Holzinger has seen and analyzed the situation more clearly than his predecessors, he has not succeeded in solving the puzzle entirely. A is not really an ordeal. The meal offering does not act as the detecting agent of the guilt. Holzinger thinks it provokes the decision of God. But nothing whatever is said in the text that indicates this. And how indeed could it bring about the divine judgment? Holzinger refers to Gen. 4:4b, 5a as a similar case, but as a matter of fact the case of Cain and Abel is not similar at all. Not only do we have no parallel in the Old Testament to a sacrifice that fulfils the function of an ordeal but, as far as I know, nowhere else either. As a matter of fact it is the oath or curse in connection with the offering that does the work, for it sets free forces by its inherent magic potency which bring about infallibly, according to ancient belief, the accomplishment of the desired end. The sacrifice has no such potency whatever, nor is the sacrifice intended to remind Yahweh of the guilt of the woman and thus provoke Him to act. The name *מִזְבֵּחַ עֹלֶן* which is explained by *מִנְחַת זָכָרֹן* may seem to point to such an explanation and especially if it is translated *meal offering of disclosure, which discloses the guilt*, as is done by Holzinger.¹ He refers to the use of the term in I Kings 17:18 and the connected superstition that the presence of a *קֶדֶשׁ* brings guilt to light. There seems to me no doubt that this suggestion hits the meaning which the phrase bears in the completed amalgamated *tôrāh* as we shall see later on. But it does not give us the original significance of the rite in which the oath plays its part.

It is the oath and not the meal offering that is the effective agent in discovering the guilt or innocence of the woman. Indeed the meal offering had originally nothing to do with the whole procedure. It is an element in the law which was combined later on with the ordinance, and which even now by its lack of really significant connection with the *tôrāh* shows that it was originally no part of the ceremony in which a suspected woman cleared herself by an oath before the deity. There were in Hebrew antiquity two modes of procedure, originally quite separate and distinct from each other, according to which a case of suspected adultery was treated, (1) by an oath before the deity, (2) by an ordeal in which a magic potion was drunk.

¹ "Offenbarungsspeisopfer, das die Schuld offenbar macht." So also Kautzsch in his *Heilige Schriften des Alten Testaments*,³ 1909.

This is just what we should have expected from corresponding usages among other nations. Almost everywhere we find the oath and the ordeal. But to clinch the argument, the striking parallel from the Code of Hammurabi must be quoted:

§ 131. If a man accuse his wife, and she has not been taken lying with another man, she shall take an oath in the name of a god and she shall return to her house.

§ 132. If the finger have been pointed at the wife of a man because of another man, and she have not been taken lying with another man, for her husband's sake she shall throw herself into the (sacred) river.

Here are the two methods in cases of suspected adultery which cannot legally be proved, (1) the oath and (2) the ordeal. That the second (in § 132) is an ordeal is seen from the use of the phrase (*ilu*) *Nâram* instead of *ana mee*, as e.g. in § 129, where the throwing into the river is simply the punishment for the proved crime.

Just so also among the Hebrews there were these two methods.¹ Whether they were used originally as in Babylonia—the oath when the husband had accused his wife, the water ordeal when others had accused her—we can no longer tell. The important point is that either was used in a case of suspected but legally unprovable adultery.

There was originally no oath used in connection with the water ordeal. The words of the priest are a *curse* and they are injected into the water by pronouncing them over it and by wiping the wet ink of the written curse into it whereby the water becomes charged with magic potency.

These two practices, the oath and the ordeal, were later on combined in Hebrew law, partly perhaps in order to make the result doubly sure, partly perhaps in order that Yahweh might have a distinct part in the procedure. He had this in the oath ceremony, but not quite so clearly in the ordeal.

In the law as now codified there is the additional element of the *meal offering*. How shall we account for it? It is just this element that has vitiated the analysis of Stade and Holzinger. The latter especially regarded it, as we saw above, as another ordeal, which provoked the divine decision, and he believed that the offering set

¹ We can of course not tell which one was older among the Hebrews. The water ordeal appears to our mind as the more primitive, but the presence of both in the Code of Hammurabi shows that both were extremely ancient in Semitic civilization.

free the divine forces which were invoked in the formula of the oath—a conception unparalleled in the Old Testament and elsewhere and therefore improbable. The solution of the problem is found in the Old Testament itself, when we consider some closely parallel laws in which an offering was inserted by the later priestly legislation. According to the Book of the Covenant, *Exod.* 22:8–12, in case where a man was suspected of theft which could not be proved in a legal way, he was required to clear himself by an oath before the deity.¹

Nothing is said here of a sacrifice in connection with the oath which he takes before Yahweh. The whole procedure is a matter of civil law just as in the parallel cases in the Code of Hammurabi, §§ 20, 249, 266.² But when this same matter was inserted among the religious laws and was regarded as an offense against the deity, then Yahweh became one of the injured parties and restitution had to be made not only to the man who had been defrauded but also to Yahweh against whom a breach of faith had been committed. Then an offering was demanded, as the law in *Lev.* 5:21–26 (*Engl.* 6:2–7) clearly shows.³

¹ If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come near unto God, to see whether he have not put his hand unto his neighbor's goods. 9 For every matter of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, or for any manner of lost thing, whereof one saith, This is it, the cause of both parties shall come before God; he whom God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbor.

10 If a man deliver unto his neighbor an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it: 11 the oath of Yahweh shall be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand unto his neighbor's goods; and the owner thereof shall accept it, and he shall not make restitution. 12 But if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof.

§ 20. If the slave escape from the hand of his captor, that man shall so declare, in the name of a god, to the owner of the slave and shall go free.

§ 249. If a man hire an ox and a god strike it and it die, the man who hired the ox shall take an oath before a god and go free.

§ 266. If a visitation of god happen to a fold, or a lion kill, the shepherd shall declare himself innocent before a god, and the owner of the fold shall suffer the damage.

² If any one sin, and commit a trespass against Yahweh, and deal falsely with his neighbor in a matter of deposit, or of bargain, or of robbery, or have oppressed his neighbor, 3 or have found that which was lost, and deal falsely therein, and swear to a lie; in any of all these things that a man doeth, sinning therein; 4 then it shall be, if he hath sinned, and is guilty, that he shall restore that which he took by robbery, or the thing which he hath gotten by oppression, or the deposit which was committed to him, or the lost thing which he found, 5 or anything about which he hath sworn falsely; he shall even restore it in full, and shall add the fifth part more thereto: unto him to whom it appertaineth shall he give it, in the day of his being found guilty. 6 And he shall bring his trespass-offering unto Yahweh, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy estimation, for a trespass-offering, unto the priest; 7 and the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahweh; and he shall be forgiven concerning whatsoever he doeth so as to be guilty thereby.

Originally there was no offering in any of these cases. Perjury was quickly visited by the offended deity, the magic potency of the word was regarded as so great that a man who had taken the oath was directly visited with the punishment invoked in the oath. When the whole matter was looked at from a religious point of view, the false oath was regarded as an offense against Yahweh which must be atoned for by a sacrifice. That this is a later mode of reasoning is at once apparent. The matter became a part of the priestly system and an offering was necessary.¹ The principle is stated very clearly in the passage immediately preceding the law of jealousy in Num. 5:5-10.² Here the various kinds of crimes which are committed against men and which are made good by restoration and additional compensation are viewed from the religious point of view, and are classed as acts of faithlessness toward Yahweh. According to the ancient legal practice they were simply matters of civil law (cf. Exod., chap. 22) and the men who had been wronged were to be satisfied by restoration and additional compensation, the latter varying at different times; here Yahweh has also been wronged and he also has to be reconciled—by an offering.

In our case in Num., chap. 5, we have the same phenomenon. Neither the oath nor the ordeal was originally connected with a sacrifice. The offering was added later when the whole matter was looked at from a religious point of view and the rites were introduced into the priestly system. Then an offering was considered absolutely necessary.

¹ Another example of the addition of such an offering is found in Lev. 19:20, 21, where the addition of vs. 21 by a priestly writer is manifest from the whole tenor of the context and the comparison with similar laws in the early codes:

20 And whosoever lieth carnally with a woman, that is a bondmaid, betrothed to a husband, and not at all redeemed, nor freedom given her; they shall be punished; they shall not be put to death, because she was not free. 21 And he shall bring his trespass-offering unto Yahweh, unto the door of the tent of meeting, even a ram for a trespass-offering.

² And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, 6 Speak unto the children of Israel, When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, so as to trespass against Yahweh, and that soul shall be guilty; 7 then he shall confess his sin which he hath done: and he shall make restitution for his guilt in full, and add unto it the fifth part thereof, and give it unto him in respect of whom he hath been guilty. 8 But if the man have no kinsman to whom restitution may be made for the guilt, the restitution for guilt which is made unto Yahweh shall be the priest's; besides the ram of the atonement, whereby atonement shall be made for him. 9 And every heave-offering of all the holy things of the children of Israel, which they present unto the priest, shall be his. 10 And every man's hallowed things shall be his: whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.

The characteristic term used by these legal priestly writers to express this religious element is *מַעַל בַּיהוָה*, thus in Num. 5:5 and in the other passage quoted above, Lev. 5:21. It is noteworthy that the phrase *מַעַל מַעַל* is used nowhere else of acts of faithlessness toward men, elsewhere it is always used with Yahweh. The conclusion seems to me therefore quite warranted that also in Num. 5:12, 27 the priestly writer wrote originally *וּמַעַלָהּ מַעַל בַּיהוָה* and that this was corrupted later into *בָּהּ* vs. 12 and *בְּאִשָּׁהּ* vs. 27. If this is so, we have another link in our argument for the later priestly insertion of the offering.

But what kind of an offering should be required? Not a sin or guilt offering, because the matter was not certain, the woman might be innocent. A meal offering seemed to be most appropriate and it was therefore introduced. Oil and incense were omitted because of the sombre character of the ceremony, as in the guilt offering of the very poor where oil and incense are also to be omitted, Lev. 5:11. Whether the coarse barley meal instead of the fine wheat was used for similar reasons we cannot tell. At any rate there is no ground for the idea that this coarse material argues for a very ancient practice. The explanation of the Talmud is well known: the woman had acted like a beast, therefore the material of her offering consists of animal fodder. What the real reason for the use of barley wheat was in this connection we do not know.¹

¹ From the term *מִנְחַת זִכְרוֹן מְזֻכָּרָה עֵץ* Stade argued that this special kind of *minha* was used not only in the case of suspected adultery but also in other cases where no legal proof was to be had. That may seem plausible enough at first, though there is no trace of it in the Old Testament.

There is antecedently no reason why such an offering should not have been added in the later priestly system to the early rite of the oath of manifestation referred to in Exod., chap. 22, just as it was added in Num., chap. 5. From Lev. 5:20-26 it appears however that these matters were viewed from a different angle. An offering indeed was added but not to the requirement of the oath, but when the man had perjured himself by the oath, it became then a guilt offering. In view of this it seems to me not so likely, as it does to Stade and others, that a *מִנְחַת זִכְרוֹן* was used in other cases too. The term must be confined to our law in Num. 5 just as the other term *מִנְחַת קְנָאָה*, which is not used anywhere else either.

At any rate we must insist that this *מִנְחַת זִכְרוֹן* is no ancient usage but a supplementary element in the law due to the later priestly system. It is one of the names given to the cereal offerings brought in connection with the rite. There are two names for this cereal offering, *מִנְחַת קְנָאָה* offering of jealousy and *מִנְחַת זִכְרוֹן עֵץ* offering of disclosure disclosing guilt. As it was felt to be necessary to explain the omission of the oil and frankincense in the guilt offering of the very poor by the addition *for it is a guilt offering*, Lev. 5:11, which did not permit the use of these materials, so here the same peculiarity in the offering in Num. 5 is felt to require

There are thus three elements in the present law of Num., chap. 5. Of these, the oath and the water ordeal constituted originally two separate rites for the discovery of guilt. The third, the cereal offering, was introduced later when the law of jealousy found a place in the later priestly system.

The complete analysis is as follows: The introduction, vss. 12-15a, is the same for the ordeal as well as for the oath. The redundancy of vs. 13 may be due to the combination of the two laws or to the strict insistence on the absence of *all* legal proof.

Introduction.—12 If any man's wife goes aside, [and commits a breach of faith against him,]¹ 13 and a man lies with her carnally, and it is hidden from the eyes of her husband and she remains undetected² although she is defiled, there being no witness against her nor she having been taken in the act,³ 14 and if the spirit of jealousy explanation. Which of the two explanations given in vs. 15 is the older? That the phrase *מִנַּחַת קִנְאָת הוּא* in vs. 18 is a later addition explaining the other term is at once apparent. Note the absence of the article! *מִנַּחַת זִכְרוֹן* is therefore the original term in vs. 18. The matter is not quite so simple in vs. 15. We might say that the phrase *מִנַּחַת קִנְאָת הוּא* was introduced here before rather than after 'מִנַּחַת זִכְרוֹן וְנִי', and that it is therefore secondary as in vs. 18. The fact that *מִנַּחַת זִכְרוֹן* is clearly original in vs. 18 shows that it must have been mentioned before, and since it is an integral part of the sentence, it must have been mentioned by the writer of the *minḥa* section in vs. 15. But the grammatical structure of the explanatory clause in vs. 15 does not permit the simple excision of *מִנַּחַת קִנְאָת הוּא*, because the rest would not be complete, a *וְהָיָא* would be required at the end. One might of course say that this was omitted by the copyist after *מִנַּחַת קִנְאָת הוּא* had been inserted. But is there any cogent reason why the writer may not have written, *for it is an offering of jealousy, an offering of disclosure that discloses guilt*? That is, the offering of disclosure that discloses guilt would then be in apposition to offering of jealousy, and the writer would explain by it wherein the efficacy of the offering of jealousy consisted. That the writer should then in vs. 18 use *מִנַּחַת זִכְרוֹן* rather than *מִנַּחַת קִנְאָת* is natural enough, for there the significance that it was potent, as he believed, to reveal sin was the important point.

It is interesting to notice this writer's conception of the significance of the offering. The divine judgment had been provoked by the oath according to the old rite of the oath, but this writer does not believe in the magical efficacy of the oath as profoundly as the ancients had done. Still, the whole procedure was resorted to for the purpose of finding out the guilt or innocence of the suspected woman. What then did reveal it? The oath? The water? No, but the offering! How? He does not say or even suggest. Perhaps he believed that the offering set free the divine forces which had been invoked in the oath (cf. Holzinger); more probably he did not think of how it was done. He had inserted the offering, the practice belonged now to the priestly system, and that was enough.

¹ *ומעלה בו מעל* is probably a touch of the priestly editor. Originally it read *ומעלה מעל ביהוה*; similarly in vs. 27. See above.

² *וְנִסְתָּרָהּ* note the feminine which shows it to be different from the preceding clause. RV., and it be kept close, is therefore not correct. Ehrlich translates the niphal as reflexive, and she keeps herself, i.e., her case, secret.

³ Ehrlich insists that *לֹא נִחְפְּשָׁה* must mean *and she was not forced*, comparing Gen. 39:12; Deut. 22:28, and that *and she was not caught in the act* (LXX, Vulg.) would have

come upon him¹ and he becomes jealous of his wife when she is defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he becomes jealous of his wife, when she is not defiled: 15a then shall the man bring his wife to the priest—

The Ordeal

16 and the priest shall bring her near and set her before Yahweh, 17 and the priest shall take holy² water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is on the floor of the sacred dwelling the priest shall take and put it into the water, [18b and the water of the ordeal³ shall be in the hand of the priest].⁴ 19 And [the priest shall adjure⁵ her and] shall say to the woman, If no man has lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to

The Oath before Yahweh

18 and the priest shall set the woman before Yahweh, and let the hair of the woman's head go loose.

21 And the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of cursing, and the priest shall say to the woman,⁶ Yahweh make thee a curse

to be expressed by נִמְצָאָה. This does not seem quite convincing. That the clause may appear superfluous besides וְעַד אֵין בָּהּ, if it means this, is no argument, because we have in this verse a heaping of all the various elements which might constitute legal proof.

¹ Ehrlich suggests וְעַבֵּר וְנָבֵר, which is plausible but not necessary.

² That מֵי קִדְשִׁים which occurs only here in the Old Testament was taken by the compiler to mean water taken from the laver of the sanctuary appears to me certain. But it is possible that LXX's ὕδωρ καθαρὸν ζῶν represents an earlier text.

³ That the designation applied to the water מֵי הַמִּרְיִם, vs. 21, הַמֵּיִם הַמֵּאֲרָרִים, vss. 22, 27, and מֵי הַמִּרְיִם הַמֵּאֲרָרִים, vss. 18, 19, 24, is not correctly preserved has been recognized by Holzinger and Ehrlich. It is clear that the first two are variant readings and that the last is a conflation. Both Holzinger and Ehrlich connect the original reading with מֵי הָאֲרָרִים = אֲרָרִים, the oracle water. This is clearly right, though we cannot be altogether sure whether the original reading was מֵי הָאֲרָרִים or מֵי הַמִּרְיִים, as is suggested, e.g., in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. That is, however, a matter of detail. I translate it by *water of the ordeal*. There is no trace of any bitter ingredients in the composition of the potion. The translation *bitter woe*, as e.g., Kautzsch and Baentsch translate הַמִּרְיִים, is not warranted by the text. In vss. 24, 27 לַמִּרְיִים is a mistake; originally the text appears to have read לְמִעֵים, as vs. 22 suggests.

⁴ It is probable that vs. 18b is an editorial link due to the priestly writer who inserted the offering. According to him the woman held the offering in her hands while the priest held the water.

⁵ If וְהִשְׁבִּיעַ אֹתָהּ הַכֹּהֵן belongs to the rite of the ordeal too, and is not merely a doublet of vs. 21, it must be translated as above, for the priest does not make the woman swear an oath in the ordeal. The solemnity with which he is to say to the woman those words of the curse may have been expressed by *and the priest shall adjure her and say*.

⁶ It is unnecessary to suppose with Holzinger that in the oath as given in vs. 21 there must have been omitted between vss. 21aα and vs. 21aβ a parallel of vs. 19. We have here the exact words of the oath. An oath is always conditional. This was so clearly understood that it was not always customary to pronounce the entire oath; sometimes one would only say, if I have, or have not, done so and so, and then stop, leaving the part which invoked the divine punishment unsaid (or he would use a circumlocution), sometimes as here the invocation of God's punishment was the essential matter, and since the

The Ordeal

uncleanness, while married to thy husband, thou shalt be free from this water of the ordeal. 20 But if thou hast gone aside, while married to thy husband, and if thou art indeed defiled and some man has lain with thee besides thy husband, 22 then this water of the ordeal shall go into thy bowels and make thy body to swell and thy womb to miscarry. 23 And the priest shall write the curse³ in a book, and shall blot it out into the water of the ordeal.³ 24 And he shall make the woman drink the water of the ordeal, and the water of the ordeal shall go in her to the bowels,⁴ 27 and it shall come to pass if she is really defiled, [and has committed a breach of faith against her husband,] that the water of the ordeal shall go in her

The Oath before Yahweh

and an oath among thy people, [in that Yahweh maketh thy womb to miscarry and thy body to swell!]¹

22 And the woman shall say, Amen, Amen!

condition was implied in the entire action it might be omitted. The condition in this case is not parallel to vs. 19 but parallel to vs. 20, *May Yahweh do so and so, if I have committed adultery!* Of course, it is likely that the conditional sentence was omitted in the process of amalgamation on account of vs. 20.

¹ The last clause is probably to be regarded as a redactional link, though the effect of the oath must have been the same as the effect of the magic potion. That *נפל ירד* means abortion admits of little doubt, but unfortunately the meaning of the other phrase is not certain since *צברה* is of doubtful signification. If it really means *to swell*, as is after all most probable, the idea must be that though the woman grows great with child ("her body swells"), the birth will be abortive ("the thigh miscarries" or, with Ehrlich, "the embryo falls"). If this is the true interpretation, it makes against the originality of the last clause of vs. 21, because the two phrases are not in the right order, for the swelling body should precede the miscarriage as it does in vs. 22, 27.

² In *האֵלֶּה הָאֵלֶּה הָאֵלֶּה* we have either a case of dittography or an intentional editorial touch, for the original had only *הָאֵלֶּה*, the curse, since we have only one curse in the preceding. Also *וּמִקֵּה* (point thus!) shows this.

³ Holzinger regards vs. 23 as a later addition. The writing of the curse upon a scroll and blotting it out into the water appears to him to be an addition to the ancient rite which presupposes a literary age. That there was a time when it was sufficient to speak the ominous words of the curse over the water and thus freight them with magic potency and that therefore from the point of view of the history of civilization we have here a later element may be granted readily enough. But why should we conclude that in the literary fixing of the passage this element is an addition? Holzinger's argument that also formally vs. 23 makes the text redundant, for "how shall the priest write now, after he has solemnly entered upon the treatment of the woman before Yahweh with the vessel containing the water of curse in his hand?" deserves no further consideration.

⁴ Read *לְמַרְרִים* for *לְמַעַרְרִים*; see above.

The Ordeal

to the bowels, and her body shall swell
and her womb miscarry.

But if the woman is not defiled but
clean, then shall she be free and bring
her seed to birth.²

The Oath before Yahweh

27 And the woman shall be a curse
among her people.¹

To the *Ordeal* belong vss. 16, 17, [18b], 19, 20, 22a, 23, 24, 27a*.

To the *Oath* vss. 18, 21a, [21b], 22b, 27b.

The Offering is inserted in vss. 15b, 18b, 25, 26. These verses need not be reproduced here. In vss. 25, 26 the offering was either inserted accidentally in the wrong place, i.e., *after* instead of *before* vs. 24, and this necessitated the repetition of vs. 24 in vs. 27 and called forth the editorial note, *and afterward shall he make the woman drink the water*, which was introduced in vs. 26 from the margin, or the usage varied. The omission in vs. 27 of *And he shall make her drink the water* by LXX, Pesh., is intentional and does not argue for its absence in their Hebrew text.

The Subscription, vss. 29-31, is a summary of the law. Gray has rightly shown that "*usage . . . does not call for the hypothesis (Stade, CH.) that it [the phrase *this is the law of*] is here the introduction to a misplaced superscription.*"

¹ The condition, if she is defiled, is implied, or more probably was omitted in the process of amalgamation.

² The magic potion is harmless to the innocent but causes abortion in the case of the guilty woman. The interpretation that "the innocent woman is promised that she shall subsequently conceive, as a reward directly granted by Yahweh" (Gray, *Commentary*, p. 48) is due to the translation of זרע וְנָדָרָהּ זָרַע by *and she shall conceive seed*, when it should be translated (with Ehrlich) as above. The woman is already pregnant. The husband's suspicion is aroused by her pregnancy, he doubts whether it is caused by legitimate intercourse. He appeals to the ordeal. The deity decides. If guilty, the birth will prove abortive; if innocent, it will be successful.

BUSINESS DOCUMENTS OF THE HAMMURABI
PERIOD. III

By LEROY WATERMAN

Bu. 91-5-9, 958

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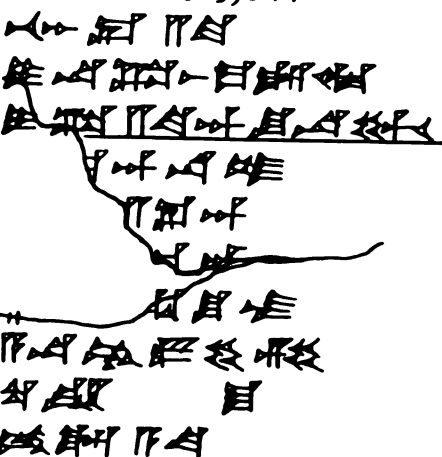
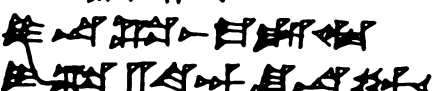
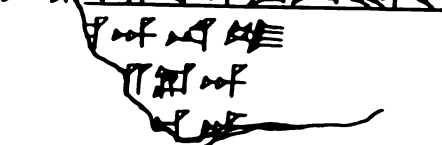



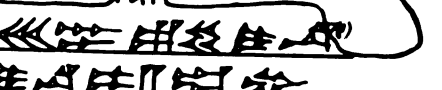
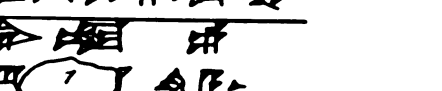
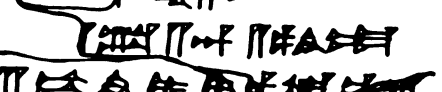
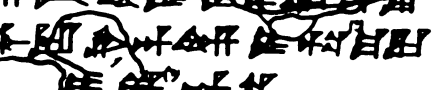
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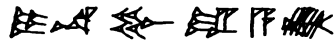
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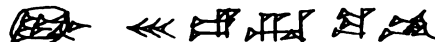




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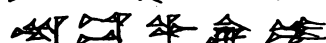




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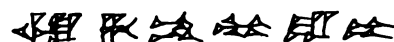


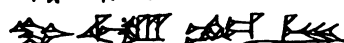
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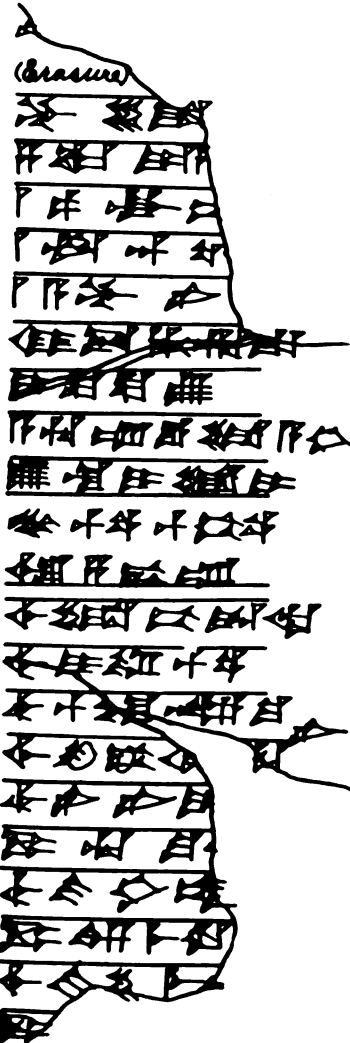
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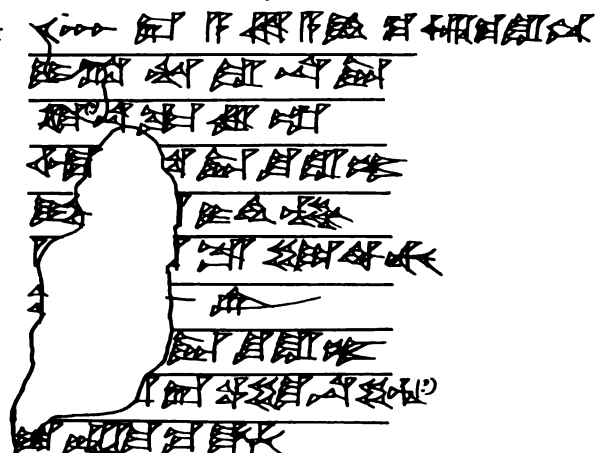
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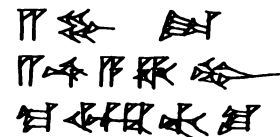
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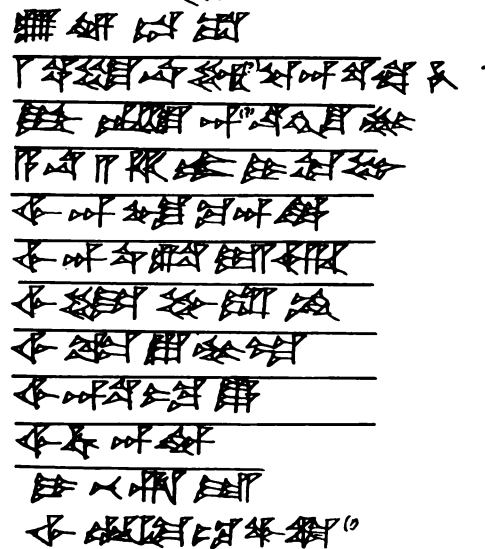
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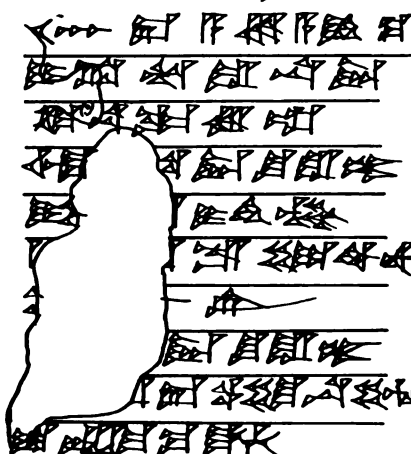
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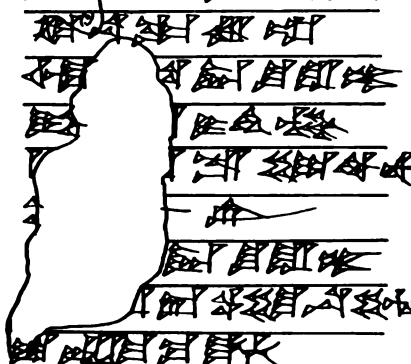
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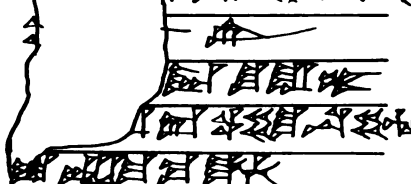
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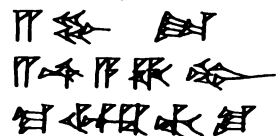
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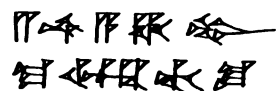
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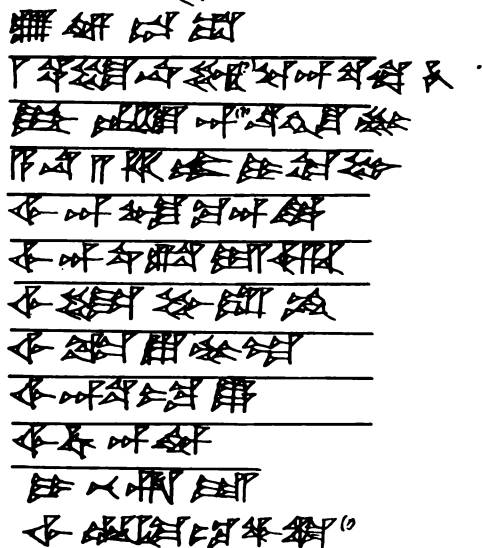
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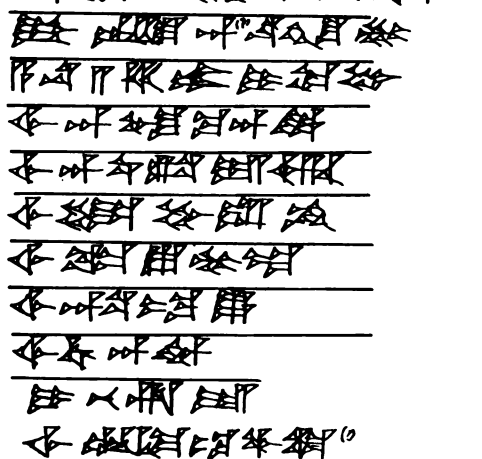
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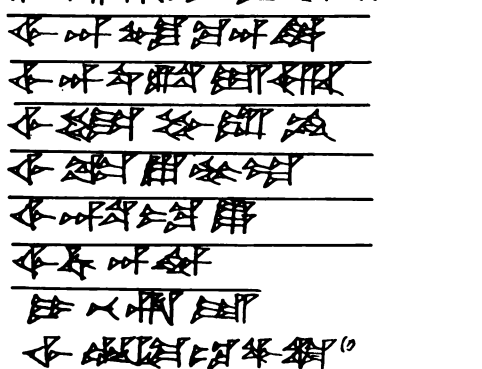
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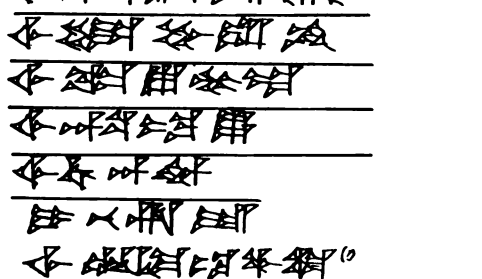
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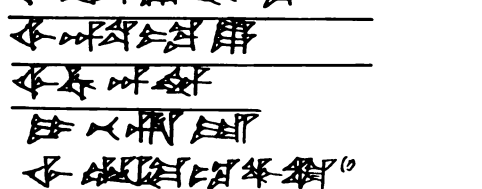
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牛年大吉

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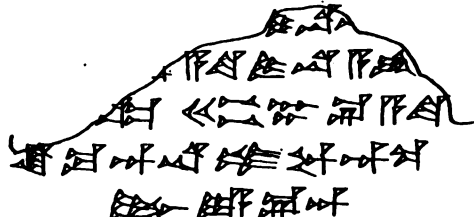
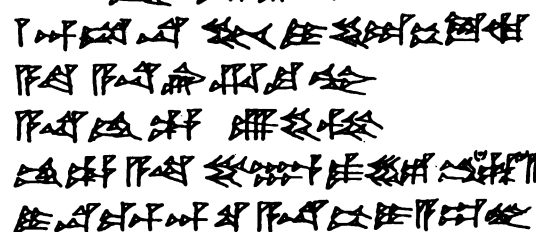
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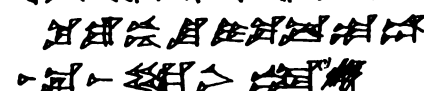
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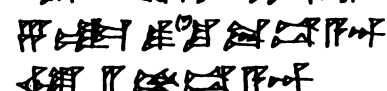

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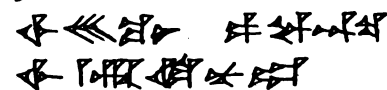
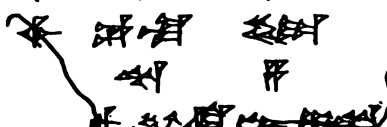
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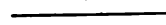
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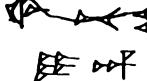
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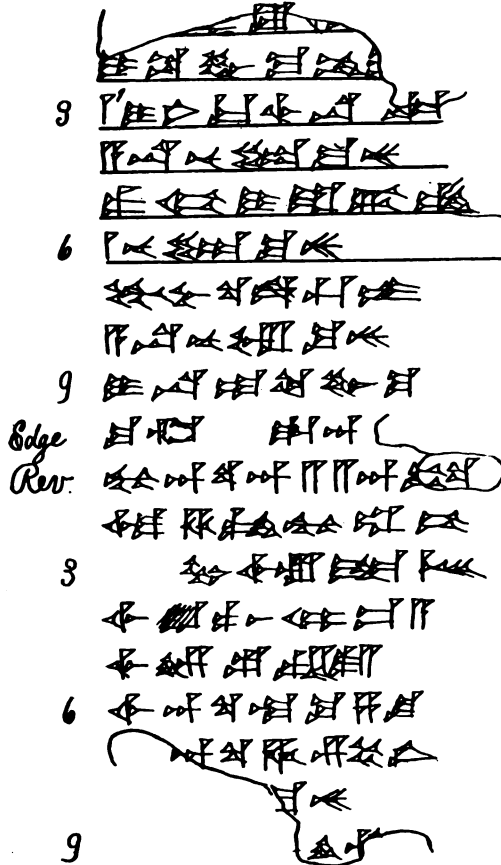
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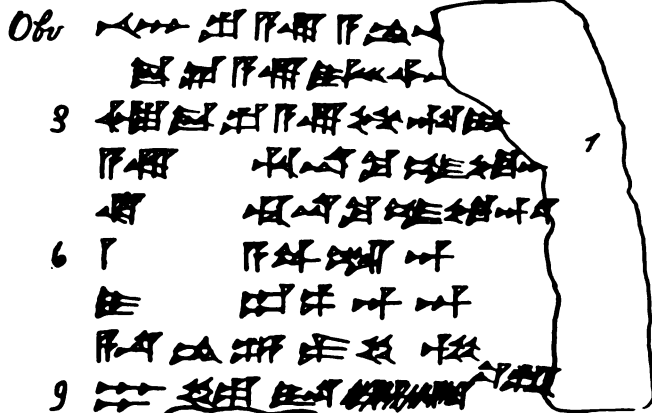
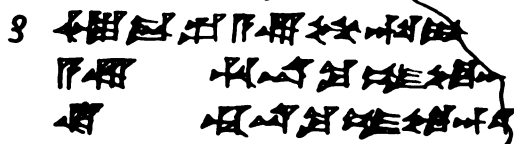
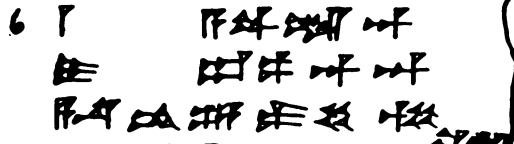


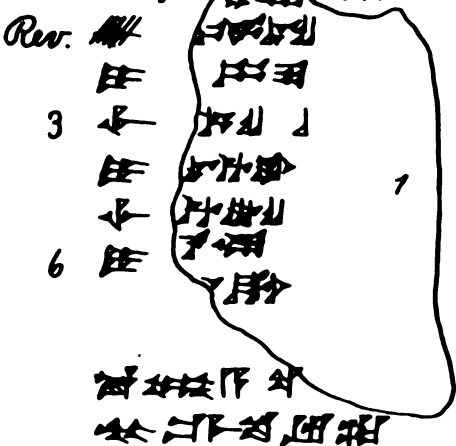
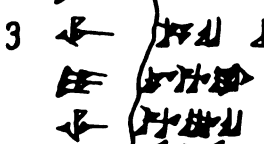

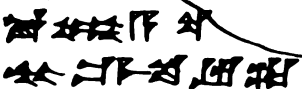
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Bu. 91-5-9, 910

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Bu 91-5-9,682

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Book Notice

HOLMA'S PHYSIOLOGICAL WORDS IN ASSYRIAN-BABYLONIAN¹

A Finnish scholar, Dr. Harri Holma of Helsingfors, makes a remarkable contribution to Assyriology in his first publication. He has prepared a thesis upon the names of the various parts of the body, both human and animal, and has done this not only with a thorough knowledge of Semitic philology but with a fine feeling for the cultural and philosophic aspects of the subject. Undoubtably the names for the more important parts of the body belong to the very oldest vocabulary of Semitic, so old and so important in human speech that many of these names became prepositions or were employed in adverbial phrases. Thus libbu, "heart," with the locative ending ū became an ordinary preposition libbū, "in," "concerning."² Also libbi,³ as well as ana libbi, ina libbi, is an ordinary preposition in Babylonian. Holma adduces further kirib, "within," "in," from kirbu, "inwards," kabal, "in the midst of," from kablu, "abdomen," idi, "beside," "at the side of," from idu, "hand."⁴ Most likely the ordinary word itti, "with," "beside," is derived from the feminine form of idu, "hand," viz., ittu, "side,"⁵ not to be confused with itū, "edge."⁶ The author further adduces aḥ, "by," "near," from aḥu, "arm," muḥ, "over," "on," from muḥḥu, "head," "cranium."

Holma regards muḥḥu as Semitic, following the lexicons, and derives from מוח, "be fat," whence words in Arabic, Syriac, and late Hebrew for "brains." This derivation may be correct; in that case the Sumerians who had a word muḡ for "cranium," and a preposition muḡ, "upon," "over," borrowed it from the Semites. See examples in my *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 229. It is curious that both Sumerian and Babylonian employ the word for "cranium," and never for "brains" and "fat." muḡ generally employed in a local sense, "upon," "over,"⁷ may be employed also in a causal sense, muḡ-mu šag-dib-ba = eli-ia isbus-ma, "because of me she was angry," IVR, 10a, 52. Also pūt, "before," is certainly connected with pātu, "forehead."

Babylonian possesses a few words borrowed from the Sumerians such as šamaḥhu, "spleen(?)," most surely a loan-word (against Holma, p. 83),

¹ *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*. Von Harri Holma, Ph.D. Leipzig, 1911.

² libbū agai, concerning this, Harper, *Letters*, 291, 6, 16.

³ Probably abbreviation of ana libbi, etc.

⁴ Cf. i-du-us, "beside" (Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, 14, 109; King, *Creation*, 16, 109.

⁵ See *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, IV, 322.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁷ Cf. *Sum. Gr.*, 188, 41.

tikku, "neck,"¹ šasurru, "womb,"² but the small number of these loan-words proves conclusively that the Semites already possessed a complete vocabulary for such essential objects before they came into contact with the ancient inhabitants of the Tigris and Euphrates. Perhaps no group of words could be found in Babylonian so completely free from foreign influence and so thoroughly Semitic.

Holma's book is well-nigh exhaustive so far as our present material goes and the few additions I am able to make have been gathered with much labor.

P. 1, the ordinary word for "body," zumru, Sum. su, probably means "skin, hide," originally (see *Sum. Gr.*, p. 20). For zurru cf. ʒu-ri (*CT*, 12, 14, 24).

P. 3 pāru, "hide," perhaps loan-word. Note BAR=pagru, etc. (*IIR*, 30e, 43-6), and BAR=pa-a-ri ša [ameli?] (*CT*, 12, 17a, 5). Holma regards *UZU*+dual as identical with *UZU*+pl.=šrê, "all the members." But cf. K. 3886 in Bezold's *Catalogue*, the ŠIR+dual of a horse.³

P. 4, note 9, add ešimtu in Th.-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats*, 9, 7.

P. 7 on manāni, cf. 𐎶 = manānu (*CT*, 16, 31, 102). This line is to be transcribed as follows: ÁŠ NIG-GIR A-GA-AN TUM UD-ŠU-UŠ-ŠUB SAMAG-DIM-MA BAR-GIŠ-RA-manāni ešmāti nušê ubbulu(?) ūmu ḥašû umšatu 'ilu, "Nerves, bones, and muscles wracked with pain(?) day of desolation, pain, and disease." For A-GA-AN TUM see also VR, 51b, 79.

P. 8, on lipû, "caul, omentum," probably Heb. חֶלֶב (see *AJSL*, 28, 219).

P. 16, for šapilti ša inim, "lower eye lashes," and elit inim "upper eye lashes," see Virolleaud in *Babyloniaca*, I, 101.

P. 39, labānu, "breast," Arabic lāban (see Johnston in *American Journal of Philology*, 1912 [review of Harper's *Letters*]).

P. 50, Br. 3312, Sumerian to be read TIG-MĀR (see *Sum. Gr.*, 229).

P. 61 kirbitu and similar words for "meadow," are connected with Arabic جَرِيب, "field," probably, "lowland, meadow." Note that the Sumerian for kirbitu is SAG-DU, "where the flood flows," and cf. *PSBA*, 1911, 86, 25, ŠA-NA MU-UN-DI-DI=[mêli-ša]⁴ iššar-ši, "she directs for her her floods."

P. 103, note 1, Meissner *SAI*, 1734, etc.; (on this šilu see *Sum. Gr.*, 240, and below on šili irtum⁵).

¹ Certainly a loan-word from TIG, TIK, "neck" (see *Sum. Gr.*, 247). Perhaps originally tikku. Holma's suggestion (p. 40), where he connects the word with Heb. tōk, "oppression," etc., is not satisfactory.

² The vocabulary reproduced at the end of this review mentions two loan-words at the end of the reverse.

³ širu certainly denotes a special part of the body in *CT*, 12. 2 rev. 7, šilum ša takalti, "šilu of the stomach," and šil-lum ša širi, "šilu of the lungs (?)."

⁴ Apparently omitted in the Semitic version, l. 26.

⁵ Correctly rendered already in *Bab.*, IV, 191, where read šillu with Holma.

P. 120, on *rittu*, cf. *DA*, 23, 2, *ritta-šu paṭ-rat*, "if his palm be open"; cf. *Bab.*, I, 15, 47, and 109, 47.

P. 129, on *purīdu*, see *PSBA*, 1908, 270.

P. 158, *meku*, "throat?" "open jaws(?)," see *PSBA*, 1909, 113. Absolutely false is Jensen's explanation of the *š* in *mekuš* as a sign of the accusative. The word has the meaning "contents" (see *VAB*, I, 180, 66).

Among the many penetrating observations of the author, the Assyriologists should especially note the correction of the Code of Hammurabi, § 221, *še-ir ḥa-nam*, "Inwards?" formerly taken for one word, *šerḥanam*. Holma regards *še-ir* as a determinative and he is doubtless right (see p. 153, below).

I was able to obtain a copy of a bilingual list of parts of the body, the lower end of a long thin tablet of which I give here a transcription. I dare say the fortunate possessor of this text will cause it to be published soon, and will pardon my use of the text, since it is of the utmost value in the recension of Holma's book. I do not vouch for absolute accuracy, the text was not long in my possession (see p. 78).

Line 8 is of more than ordinary interest. The word *šīlu* (hardly *ši-ni*?) is probably identical with the word *šēlu* discussed by Holma, p. 103. Apart from *šīlu*, "ruler," *šīlu*, "shade room," whose meanings appear to be established (see Muss-Arnolt, 1036b, *šīlu* 1 and 3), there exists another *šīlu*, *šīllu* which is a Sumerian loan-word and completely misunderstood by the lexicographers.

Holma, p. 103, rightly rejected the meaning *šillū*, "hide," but falsely confused *šīllu*, "cavity," "womb," with *šillū* (*šillū*?), some kind of date or fruit. *šīlu*, *šēlu* is derived from a Sumerian root *SIL ŠIL*, "cavity," "hole," "vessel," and also came to mean "womb." Note *KA* (*SI-LA*) = *siltum*, *ipu*, "womb," *WZKM*, 26, 391, on *CT*, 12, 16a, 26 f. Already in *Sum. Gr.*, 240, I had arrived at the fundamental meaning of *šīl* and the loan-word *šīlum*. For the root *SIL* in the sense of "vessel" cf. *karpāt* (*SILIMA*) *KAL* = *ḥubša* [*šū*], *SAI*, 2181. So read, see *RA*, VI, 128. These words should appear in the lexicon as follows:

šīlu, "cavity," "hole," "womb," loan-word from $\sqrt{\text{SIL}} \text{ ŠI-IL} = \text{𐎶} = \text{ši-lum} \text{ ša } \text{NU-GIŠ-ŠAR}$, "water vessel of the gardener." [*ši-il* = 𐎶 = *ši-lum*] *ša iṣṣuri*, and *buru* = 𐎶 = *ši-lum* *ša iṣṣuri*, "crop of a bird," *CT*, 12, 15a, 9, and *VR*, 37d, 8. *CT*, 12, 15a, 10, [*ši-lum*] *ša nūni*, "belly of a fish."

buru = 𐎶 = *ši-lum* *ša šīri* *VR*, 37d, 7, and *ši-lum* *ša takalti* (l. 8), the latter phrase = "cavity of the stomach"; *šīru* certainly a part of the body, possibly "lungs," hence "cavity of the lungs?" *šīl-GAN* (*KAR*?) = *še-lum* *ša šēri*, "cavity of the lungs?" *CT*, 18, 49b, 1+19, 33 (80-7-19, 307) l. 3 (after Meissner, *SAI*, 1734). Here *še-e-lu* *ša šīri* in *Sm. 1803* (Meissner, *Supplement*), twice with Sumerian broken away and farther down *ši(?)*-*lu* *ša sinništi*, "womb of a woman."

Šillu, the same. šil(𒂗)=šil-lu ša takalti, "cavity of the stomach," IIR, 62c, 64. More often "womb"; šil=𒂗=ši-il-lum ša sinništi, CT, 12, 15a, 21; ardatu ša idlu damku šil-la-ša (IGI-KAK-A-NI) la ipturu, Bab., IV, 191. In IIR, 62cd, 61-63, IŠ-PA, IŠ-PA-TU . . . and TUL-BA =šil-lu ša See for collation of this text *Sum. Gr.*, 240.

Sumerian	Semitic	Translation
6.	e-ši-en ši-ru ¹	Backbone
7.	ki-šir 𐎢𐎣	Knot of the backbone ²
8. [UZU ZAG-LU]	i-mit-tum	Right thigh
9. UZU [ZAG-LU?] A-RI-A	šu-u ³	
10. UZU ZAG-LU A-RI-A	ni-is-ḥu i-mit-tum	
11. UZU KA ZAG-LU	𐎢𐎣	
12. UZU KA ZAG-LU	ša is-di-ka	
13. UZU KA ZAG-LU	gan-di-is-su	
14. UZU KA ZAG-LU	nag-la-bi	hip(?)
15. UZU BAR KA	𐎢𐎣	hip(?)
16. UZU SAG-BAR-KA	kaḥ-ka-du 𐎢𐎣	Top of the hip(?)
17. UZU SUḪ-BAR-KA ⁴	mur(?)-ḥa-zi-in-nu	Bottom of the hip(?)
18. UZU IM-EŠU(?) ⁵ -BI(?)	as ⁶ -ku-um-bit-tum	Hump
19. UZU GÜ-BAL-PA-KĀR	𐎢𐎣	
20. UZU PA-GIŠGAL ⁷	𐎢𐎣	
21. UZU KA-DI-A	𐎢𐎣	
22. UZU KA ⁸ -ME-GAN	𐎢𐎣	
23. UZU AS ⁹ -KU-UM-BIT-TUM	𐎢𐎣	
24. UZU MĀL-LA-TUM	kāt ¹⁰ -tum	Form
25. UZU MĀL-LA-TUM	mi-nu-tum	Form
26. UZU GIŠ-ĀŠ: 𐎢𐎣	uzu sag-āš: 𐎢𐎣	
27. UZU ME-ĀŠ: 𐎢𐎣	uzu ka-gal: ma-la-ku	

¹ Above this word are five incomplete words, du [ku?]-tal(?)-lum. pi-tu ša-nu, ma-nu.

² I.e., vertebra.

³ This indicates a loan-word but the pronunciation of the Sumerian is doubtful. Possibly a phonetic gloss stood at the left of A-RI-A.

⁴ Literally, ušši naglabi.

⁵ Br. 11208(?).

⁶ Uncertain, az, aḡ? Cf. aḡubittum, Holma, 141.

⁷ Glossed šilulu (CT, 12, 41, 15.).

⁸ KAD(?) so my copy(?).

⁹ See above.

¹⁰ For variants ka-at, kāt (Br. 1365), see Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, 38. This variant ŠU is not found elsewhere. The reading k not ḡ appears probable, but is not certain. The derivation from kānu, "fix," is the most probable, but still questionable. For K. 4956 cited by Böllenrücher see now *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 9.

REVERSE

Sumerian	Semitic	Translation
1. UZU-TI	ši- [lu]	Rib
2. UZU-TI-TI	aš-ba(?) a-ti	Floating ribs(?)
3. UZU-KAK-TI	[sik-]kat ši-li ¹	Breast bone
4. UZU KAK-TI TÜR ²	na-aš-pa-du	Soft sternum
5. UZU KAK-ZAG-GA	kas-ka-su ³	Sternal cartilage
6. UZU KAK-ZAG-GA-TIR-RA	ka-tap-pa-a-tum ⁴	Shoulder
7. UZU-GAB	ir-tum	Breast
8. UZU PA-GAB	ši-lí //	Cavity of the chest
9. UZU ÁB-GAB ⁵	ši-i-ri nap-ša-ri	Flesh of
10. UZU ÁB-TIR ⁶	pir-šu ⁷	Womb(?)
11. UZU-ÁB-DUN	//	Womb(?)
12. UZU LI-DUR ⁸	a-bu-un-na-tum	
13. UZU ME-GAN	hi-in-ši	Loins
14. UZU MÀ-ÚR-RA	zi-tum lib-bi ⁹	Anus
15. UZU MÀ-UR-RA	di-ig-šu ¹⁰ : zūr-mà-lib-bi //	Anus, crotch(?)
16. UZU (MU-BU)ĤAR	mi-i-ri ¹¹	Womb
17. UZU ŠAG: LIB-BI	uzu šag: kar-šu	Abdomen ¹²
18. UZU ŠAG: ĤIR-BI	uzu šag: ir-ri	Belly, Intestines

¹ Cf. CT., 20, 40, 23; 39, 5; Meissner, *SAI*, 3617.

² Literally "little peg of the breast."

³ For *kaskasu* = Syr. *kuskasā*, "cartilage," from *kasāsu*, "to gnaw," see my *Neu-Babylonische Königsinschriften*, 334. In liver omens the word probably means "grizzle, muscular tissue." For the passages in omen texts see Klauber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte*, LV and 171. The word means properly the cartilages which connect the short ribs to the sternum.

⁴ Syr. *kathpā*, pl. *kathpāthā*; note Talmudic *kēthaphtā*.

⁵ *Ab-gab* hitherto only as name of a plant (Br. 8873, etc.).

⁶ Hitherto only as plant name, *SAI*, 6667.

⁷ Perhaps same meaning as *pirištu* (see *Sum. Bab. Psalms*, 250, 10; *PSBA*, 1908, 270).

⁸ Correct *SAI*, 5562, to *giš-li-dur*, which is the name of a tree on a text in Constantinople. Note that *li-dur* is the ideogram for the names of at least three plants (Br. 128-30). The magician casts liquid with a curse upon the *abunnati* of a man (Küchler, *Med.*, p. 10, 59). The right and left *abunnatu* of a child are mentioned, followed by the right and left buttock (*utlu*), right and left testicles, (*šir*) (CT, 28, 27, 12 f.). Consequently a part of the body in pair in the region of the genitals. See Frank, *Studien*, 141.

⁹ So read for Holma's *KU-TUM*, the sign is *zid* not *xu*. Loan-word *zittummu*, a kind of inferior meat (Dhorme, *Choix*, 249, 74).

¹⁰ *di-ig-šu*. In Assyrian the root "to perforate" corresponding to Syriac *dēgaš* and new Hebrew *dāgaš*, Piel "to sharpen a sound," Hiph. "to speak distinctly," is perhaps better written *dakāšu* "to prick," "to rupture." *dikāu*, "rupture," "break," *diki-is-sa* "its rupture" (CT, 28, 43, 4); *di-ki-za*, 20, 39, 3; *reš di-ik-ši*, K. 134, 1; *di-ik-šu* (CT, 20, 41, 17). Only in the last example not of the gaul. *dikāu* in our text a synonym of *zittum libbi*.

¹¹ For Sum. *muḫu*(s) = "womb," *ḫu*, see *Sum. Gr.*, 230. *muḫu* is surely connected with the root *ḫrū*, 𐎲𐎠𐎺, "to lay bare," cf. *mrdnu*, "nakedness."

¹² *karšu* usually "stomach."

REVERSE—Continued

Sumerian	Semitic	Translation
19. UZU ŠAG-MAĜ	šamaḥ-ḥu	Large intestines
20. UZU ŠAG-MAĜ	ir-ri ḳab-ri ¹	Intestines of the abdomen
21. [UZU ŠAG]-SIG	ʔ ḳaṭ-ni	Small intestines ²
22. [UZU ŠAG]-MUD-DĪ-A	ʔ ša da-mu ma-lu-u	The intestines which are full of blood ³
23. LIK-KU	šu-u	
24. SA	šu-u	
25. [UZU ŠAG]-NIGIN	ti-ra-nu ⁴	Small intestines.
26. [UZU-SAG]-NIGIN	ir-ri saḥ-ḥa-ru-tu ⁴	Ileum(?)
27. GA?	pir- ⁵ su	
28. ki-tum	

šillû, ṣillû, some kind of date palm, VR, 26, 48; IIR, 44, 38; 62, 73; *Nabd.* 476, 8, etc. See Muss-Arnolt, 875b and 875. Here certainly šfl-lu-u following imbu, Rm. 346, Obv. 11. silu = ? IR, I, 7 E 3, "form," "shape(?)." Perhaps same word as šllu.

The same author continuing his penetrating studies upon certain culture groups of words now adds a monograph⁶ upon (1) Assyrian names for skin diseases, (2) Assyrian fish-names, and (3) a selection of Assyrian plant-names. The same effort to combine philology with social and cultural science marks the author's investigations, and a more scientific definition of numerous words results from his studies. For Hebrew philology of special importance is the reading of ublu, which Jensen had falsely connected with a bālu, "to lament," and translated by "mourner's garment," as uplu and the identification with Hebrew בִּלְיָ, "boil," prove. The meaning had already been given correctly by Delitzsch four years before Jensen corrected this meaning, and the same may be said of malû, "boil," falsely corrected to "dirty garment" by Jensen and accepted by Ungnad, Dhorme, and other translators of the Gilgamesh Epic. Correct Gilgamesh II, Col. III, 41; XI, 252; also the *Descent of Ishtar*, rev. 2, and Zimmermann, *Beiträge*, 118, 32.

¹ ḳabru, hitherto only in sense of "grave, cavern." šamaḥḥu and irri ḳabri are synonyms and clearly designate the large intestines, and contrasted with the irri ḳatni or "small intestines." Holma, pp. 82 f., and especially p. 83, n. 1, are to be revised accordingly. Ethiopic samāḥe, "spleen," has no possible connection with this loan-word šamaḥḥu.

² Cf. CT, 17, 25, 34.

³ According to my medical adviser this means the aorta and its branches, the inferior vena cava and its tributaries.

⁴ This passage verifies Boissier, *OLZ*, 1908, 456. Probably a special part of the small intestine, possibly ileum.

⁵ UD. Probably = paršu (M.A. 838b).

⁶ *Kleine Beiträge zum Assyrischen Lexicon*. Von Dr. Harri Holma. Helsingfors, 1912.

The philological connection of *ṣinnitu* with צִרְעָתָה, "scurf," "leprosy," appears to be successfully defended (p. 19). Most interesting is the evidence for the Babylonian origin of the Aramaic, Persian, and Arabic, אֶמְלִיקָה, Sanskrit *āmalaka*, and now an ordinary word in Asiatic languages, European *emblica*. Holma finds the word in *ammalugu*, documented in the first Babylonian dynasty (p. 60). Hebrew *bāṣāl*, "garlic," has a cognate in *bišru* (p. 66), and *šūšan*, "lotus," eventually Egyptian, appears in Babylonian as *šēšanū* (p. 94).

Additions which I am able to make upon this monograph are few.

P. 3, *et passim*, *ullānumma*, "from before onwards," is taken from a false etymology of Jensen. The word means "shortly after," "straightway" (see my note on this word in *PSBA* [in press]).

P. 8, *garabu*, "scrofula," perhaps identical with *garabū*(?), "a bird" (*SAI*, 3461). In any case *IŠ* appears to mean *scrofula* in *CT*, 27, 47, 17 = *Bab.*, V, 132, 21.

P. 10, on *liptu*, see *BA*, V, 566, 23, *liptu nušurrū šussī zumrušu*, "Wasting disease make far from his body." See also Martin, *Textes Religieux*, 198.

P. 26, in the literature on fish-names mention should be made of Streck, *ZDMG*, 61, 633-40; cf. also *ZA*, 19, 239.

P. 31, *NUN*=*nūnu*, Br. 2627, probably not a fish (see Hrozný, *Ninrag*, 53).

P. 65, on *buṣinnu*, "mullein," see Boissier, *choix*, 173, 25, "If fire which is borne on a torch *ina bu-si-in*[*ni*] and divide into two flames"; here clearly used as a torch as at Rome. If Holma's derivation from *būsu*, "byssus," be correct, it might aid in determining the meaning of "byssus," which occurs in Assyrian (see *VAB*, IV, 325). In any case either cotton or linen must be designated by byssus, and it is difficult to see how either could be made from mullein. If I understand Holma correctly, he supposes *buṣinnu* to mean "cotton plant," and since the mullein leaves have a woolly surface the mullein was also called *buṣinnu*. This is wholly conjectural if not impossible. Perhaps all connection between *buṣinnu* and *būšu* should be rejected.

P. 71, *zabru*, "back," already correctly determined by Dhorme, *Choix*, 312. Also *pūdu* and *pūtu* were correctly determined in *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 336.

P. 96, that *suḥuru* cannot mean "skate, or turbot, or plaice," because these have no beards, appears groundless. Fish of the skate type often have long feelers at the mouth resembling a beard. For other lists of fish see *MI* 0.769 in Genouillac, *Inventaire*, and Genouillac, *Trouvaille de Dréhem*, No. 81.

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THE COMPOSITION OF JUDGES, CHAP. 19

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We have become so accustomed in the literary criticism of the Old Testament to apply the master-key of composite authorship to books or chapters which present perplexing literary problems, that we sometimes forget to inquire whether the facts in the particular case really demand its application. Of course, the difficulties and perplexities in the narrative may be removed and the literary problems may be "solved" by it. But the question remains whether this particular treatment actually unties or merely cuts the knots. Some minds will always prefer the more radical solution, if they are given the choice, others the more conservative. But the literary critic ought not to ask which solution is radical and which conservative and then decide according to his temperamental inclination, but which solution does most justice to all the facts in the case. Sometimes a surgical operation is imperative, sometimes the difficulty will yield to a sympathetic treatment of the text. Personally it ought not to make the slightest difference to the critic which method is to be applied. Only, before proceeding to a major operation he ought to be satisfied by the symptoms that there is no other way that promises permanent relief.

In the treatment of the literary questions of Judges, chap. 19, Budde, Moore, and Nowack resort to the theory of the combination of two sources, when as a matter of fact the symptoms do not appear

to call for such a radical procedure. Moore expresses himself very cautiously: "It is possible that the older story was itself composite; 19, 5-15, in particular, give ground for this opinion."¹ He makes it, however, clear that he accepts this possibility as the best solution. Budde and Nowack are much more positive. Budde says, chap. 19 "goes clearly back to two sources,"² "the great redundancy in this section [19:1-10] makes the assumption of two sources a necessity."³ Similarly Nowack asserts "there can be no doubt that chap. 19 is not a uniform presentation."⁴ "It is impossible . . . to get on with the assumption of a mere working over of one source."⁵ This solution has been accepted, e.g., by Cornill, Kittel, and Steuernagel, and may almost be regarded as a part of the critical tradition. A refutation must therefore needs go into a detailed examination of the evidence.

The case for vss. 5-9 has been stated by Moore as follows:⁶

"In v. 5-9 the Levite is several times on the point of setting out, but is over and over again persuaded to postpone his departure. The lingering of the narrative, the multiplication of identical or equivalent phrases, the alternation of singular and plural verbs, and especially the doublets in v. 9, give ground for the surmise that two versions of the story have been united; but the attempts to analyze the verses have not been successful. The solution which appears to me most plausible is, that in the first account the Levite remains three days with his father-in-law; on the fourth day, as he is preparing to depart, his host persuades him to fortify himself for the journey by a meal; they linger over the table till afternoon, when, declining an urgent invitation to spend another night, the Levite with his companions sets out on his return (v. 4-6a. 8a β b. 9). In the other version they feast together on the day of the Levite's arrival (v. 6a); the girl's father invites his guest to pass the night there; in the morning he urges him to stay another night; on the third day detains him for a feast, as in the other account, and reluctantly allows him to depart, late in the day (v. 6. 7. 8a α. 9)."

In regard to the doublets in vs. 9 which "especially" give ground for the surmise, Moore has himself shown that "the Hebrew text is not intact" and has restored on the basis of *Q^L al.* the reading, *See*

¹ In his English translation of the Book of Judges, *SBOT*, 1898, pp. 92 f.; similarly in his *Commentary*, 1895, and last in his *Literature of the Old Testament*, 1912, p. 86, "with perhaps traces of another version in c. 19."

² *Das Buch der Richter*, 1897, p. 126.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Buch der Richter*, 1900, p. 157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁶ *Commentary*, p. 410.

the day has declined toward evening; spend the night here to-day also, and enjoy thyself. And in his English translation, as well as in his edition of the Hebrew text in *SBOT*, Moore prints vs. 9 as coming from *one* source.

"The lingering of the narrative" as well as "the multiplication of identical or equivalent phrases" cannot be denied, but the question is whether this description is not altogether true to life. It is certain that similar situations with quite as many attempts on the part of the guest to leave and quite as many attempts on the part of the host to persuade him to stay occur not only in the Orient but also in Europe, if not in America, especially in connection with visits of relatives in the country. We must not overlook that after all the father-in-law is successful in persuading the Levite to stay only one full day after he had made up his mind to start for home. His attempt on the following day is only partially successful. The Levite insists on leaving that afternoon.

As for "the multiplication of identical or equivalent phrases" of which Moore speaks, was it not quite natural that the father-in-law should use the same phrase on the morning of the fourth and fifth days? Would we in a similar situation vary the particular phrase that we are accustomed to? Would not most of us say it in the same way twice, or if we varied at all vary it but slightly? Our author actually does vary it a little; in vs. 5 he says, *Stay thy stomach with a bit of bread and after that thou mayst go*; in vs. 8 he says simply, *Stay thy stomach*. If that was the phrase that he was accustomed to, why should he use another, especially if he varies it a little? Again the other attempts to persuade the Levite to stay are not phrased altogether alike; in vs. 6 the father-in-law says, *Be persuaded, now, and pass the night, and be merry*; in vs. 9, *See, the day is declined toward evening; pass the night here to-day also, and be merry*. What else should he have said the second time? He wanted him to stay over night, and לַיְלָה was the usual term for that. That he should have added on both occasions *and be merry*, which would correspond to our colloquial, *have a good time*, seems to me so utterly natural that I can conceive of myself as doing exactly the same thing. It is interesting to notice that on the first of these two days the author says (vs. 7) *his father-in-law urged him*. Nothing is said of this on

the second day (vs. 9). The author does therefore vary his description after all.

But what about "the alternation of singular and plural verbs"? In vs. 5 we read, *on the fourth day they arose in the morning and he stood up to go*. Moore remarks on this: "If the words belong to the original narrative, the [second] verb should probably be put in the plural." He might just as well have said that the first verb should be put in the singular, as we have it in vs. 8. And that is what we must do, just as *and after that ye may go* at the end of vs. 5 should be put in the singular, as Moore also quietly does in his translation. It was such an easy thing for a copyist to write the plural in this verse after he had written in vs. 4, *and they passed the night there*, when he should have written *and he passed the night there*, as in vs. 7. But immediately before there stood *and they ate and drank*, and so he wrote *and they passed the night there*. Then he went on, *and it came to pass on the fourth day when they rose in the morning*.

In vs. 8 Moore believes that the text should probably be restored on the basis of Greek MSS to read *and he coaxed him, and he lingered till the day was declining*, instead of *and tarry till the decline of day*. If this restoration is accepted, "the alternation of singular and plural verbs" disappears in this verse. But Moore's reasoning on the inappropriateness of the imperative *tarry!* is not really cogent. He says, "an invitation to tarry till afternoon before beginning a long journey is in itself strange, and appears still more strange beside v. ⁹, where the advanced hour of the day is urged as a reason why they should not set out till the following morning" (p. 411). That a man who wished to persuade another to prolong his visit should have said, *tarry till the day decline*, and that he should then have said in the afternoon, *see, the day has declined toward evening; spend the night here to-day also*, is again so altogether true to life that it seems strange that it should be made an argument for a change of text. It is exactly as ordinary people act everywhere. The only change that is really necessary is the slight emendation of the plural into the singular, which, as we said, is advocated in Moore's emendation also.

There is still another point which leads even Ehrlich to resort to the explanation of an editorial combination of two sources. It is the use of the two synonymous terms *the girl's father* and *his father-in-law*.

One source used the one, the other source the other and the editor sometimes combined both. In vss. 3, 5, 6, 8 we have *the girl's father*; in vs. 7 we have *his father-in-law*; in vss. 4, 9 we have both terms *his father-in-law, the girl's father*. It will hardly be maintained that the same author might not use both terms for the sake of variety of expression. But it is fairly certain that he would not use the two synonyms together, as is done in vss. 4, 9. One of them is not original. And it is quite certainly *the girl's father*. In Hebrew הַחָנוּךְ may be read either הַחָנוּךְ, *his father-in-law*, or הַחָנוּךְ, *his son-in-law*, and both readings occur in our passage (cf. vs. 5, *son-in-law*). In order that there might be no mistake in an unpointed text a reader added in vs. 4 to הַחָנוּךְ the explanatory *the girl's father*, which made it evident who was meant, and similarly in vs. 9. The translation of the Vulgate shows that this was not altogether unnecessary. It translated בָּרַחֲזֹק in vs. 4 by *he embraced the man, amplexatus est hominem*. While it does not seem likely that this points to an original בָּרַחֲזֹק instead of רִחֲזֹק, because חָבַק is used with ל and not with ב and the Vulgate is quite free in this chapter, yet a reader might have taken בָּרַחֲזֹק in the same sense and connected it with the following (as the Massoretic text does, but not the Vulgate), and then it would be almost equally good to translate *and his father-in-law embraced him* or *his son-in-law embraced him*. If now we omit *the girl's father* in vss. 4, 9 as secondary, as Budde also does, since he regards it as editorial, we have a beautiful sequence in the story, *the girl's father* in vss. 3, 5, 6, 8 alternating with *his father-in-law* in vss. 4, 7, 9, in strict obedience to a stylistic rule.

There is one point where further criticism seems to be needed. We recognized in vs. 4 that the last two words had reference only to the Levite, for it was self-evident that the father-in-law should pass the night at his home. But now we notice that in the other two instances where both feast together this is indicated by the addition of *both of them together* (vs. 6) or of *both of them* (vs. 8). So we may conclude with reasonable assurance that the verbs in vs. 4b were originally all in the singular.

The specific mentioning of the fact that *he spent the night there* is a little peculiar after the statement that *he stayed with him three days*. It would seem to exclude the previous mention of three days

in vs. 4. That would carry with it the secondary character of *on the fourth day* in vs. 5 and *on the fifth day* in vs. 8; the latter had also been regarded as editorial by Moore. A reader, so we might say, wrote as a gloss on *he stayed with him* in vs. 4 *three days*, which he had figured out according to the Hebrew way of counting. The day of arrival was the first, the day of feasting the second, the day of departure the third day. After *three days* had been inserted in vs. 4, the insertion of the fourth and fifth days respectively in vss. 5, 8 followed almost as a matter of course. But even though לַיִל means *spend the night* in vss. 7, 9, there is no reason why it should not mean *lodge* in vs. 4. And the visit of three days is so customary even now, that it is exactly what we should expect. The father-in-law liked his guest so much that he urged him to stay another day, and then still another. The text is therefore true to life, and neither the *three days* in vs. 4, nor the *fourth* and *fifth day* in vss. 5, 8 should be omitted.

If we now read over vss. 4-10, we shall find the story quite consistent.

4. And his father-in-law detained him and he stayed with him three days; and he ate and drank and lodged there. 5. And on the fourth day, when he rose in the morning and was about to go, the girl's father said to his son-in-law, Stay thy stomach with a bit of bread, and after that thou mayst go. 6. So the two sat down and ate together and drank. And the girl's father said to the man, Be persuaded, now, and pass the night and be merry! 7. And when the man rose to go, his father-in-law urged him, and he spent the night there again. 8. And on the fifth day, when he rose in the morning to go, the girl's father said, Stay thy stomach, and tarry till the decline of day! And the two ate together. 9. And when the man rose to go, with his concubine and his servant, his father-in-law said to him, See, the day is declined toward evening, pass the night here to-day also, and be merry; then thou mayst rise early to-morrow morning for thy journey and go to thy home. 10. But the man refused to spend the night and rose and went, and came to a point opposite Jebus [i.e., Jerusalem], having a pair of asses, his concubine, and his servant¹ with him.

In the next section, vss. 11-15, the text, as we have it, gives reason for the statement that vs. 13 excludes vss. 11, 12 before itself (Budde). In vss. 11, 12 the servant proposes to his master that they spend the night at Jerusalem, but the master declines, because

¹ For עַמְּוֹל read עַמְּוֹל.

Jerusalem was not an Israelitish city, and in turn proposes that they keep on and spend the night at Gibeah. In vs. 13 he is uncertain whether they should stay at Ramah or Gibeah. The sunset decides the matter in favor of Gibeah. The *cruz* lies in vs. 12b. Here, however, the text is not in order. Moore already noted "that the adversative after a negative sentence (we will not do so, but so) should be expressed by simple consecutive perfect, instead of by **אם** or **אם כִּי** is striking," and he added: "The words read very much like a gloss suggested by the following (v. ^{14f}).". If this solution is correct, the two-source theory loses its real foundation in this instance too. But why should such a gloss be introduced here? We must look for the solution elsewhere. The word immediately preceding vs. 12b, **וְהָנָה**, is certainly corrupt, as is generally agreed. But the reading of some Hebrew MSS, **וְהִפְּזָה**, which is followed by modern critics, is nothing but a correction and does not witness to an older text. It necessitates the further change of **נָכְרִים** to **נָכְרִים** in order that it may have a true antecedent. This latter change to a *city of foreigners who are no Israelites* is sound, but the change of **וְהָנָה** to **וְהִפְּזָה** does not seem altogether satisfying, especially in view of vs. 12b. When the travelers approached Jerusalem, *the day was already far spent* (vs. 11); that was the reason for the servant's suggestion. But the hour of sunset had not yet come. So they journeyed on until they were compelled by *the sun setting down on them when they were beside Gibeah* (vs. 14) to turn in there for shelter. This suggests that the master said in vs. 12, *We will not turn aside to a city of foreigners who are no Israelites. Come, let us pass on till sun-down!* For **וְהָנָה וְעָבְרָנוּ** the original text read **וְהָנָה וְעָבְרָה עַד הָעֶרֶב גְּבֵעָה**. This solves the difficulty of the **וְהָנָה**, of the waw consecutive with the perfect and of the omission of the article before **גְּבֵעָה**. Elsewhere in chaps. 19, 20 the latter is always defined, except in 20:31, 33 where the text is generally regarded as not correctly preserved by the Massora. This should have given rise to suspicion also in this verse. A glance at the emended text shows how easily it could be corrupted to our received text. The restored text contains just what is needed at this point of the narrative.

If this is accepted, we have in vs. 13 not a parallel but the continuation of vss. 11, 12. The master makes his proposal that

they pass on till sundown, more definite by specifying Ramah or Gibeah as stopping places. This is introduced afresh by *and he said to his servant*.

Vs. 15 is distributed among two sources by Budde, Moore, and Nowack. But only Nowack finds it necessary to remark about it. Vs. 15a, according to him, is redundant, since לְבוֹא is superfluous beside וַיָּבֹאוּ. Yet Nowack himself is unwilling to agree to Budde's assignment of לְבוֹא לְלוֹךְ בְּנִבְעָה as the continuation of וַיַּעֲבִירוּ in vs. 14, which, by the way, is regarded by both Budde and Nowack, but not by Moore, as a parallel to וַיֵּלֶכְיָא and therefore clearly from another source! But what reason is there then for two sources? Moore gives no reason. Can it be that he thinks that "the alternation of singular and plural verbs" of which he spoke in connection with vss. 5-9 has influenced him here? Hardly, because he leaves it in the source to which he assigns vs. 14 (plural) as well as vs. 15b (singular). Budde and Nowack do not remove this alternation of singular and plural verbs in their sources either. So Budde reads for his first source, *So they turned aside there, and he entered*, etc. It is, however, fairly certain, irrespective of any theory of composition, that the original text read the plural all through vs. 15. The internal evidence is strengthened here by the external evidence of *OSU*.

It is necessary now to read over the text of vss. 11-15 in order to test the validity of these observations in their connection.

11. Now when they were near Jebus and the day was far spent, the servant said to his master, Come, let us turn aside to this Jebusite town and spend the night in it. 12. But his master said to him, We will not turn aside to a city of foreigners who are no Israelites. Come now, let us pass on until sun-down. 13. And he said to his servant, Come, let us draw up to one of those places and spend the night in Gibeah or in Ramah. 14. So they continued their way and the sun went down on them as they were beside Gibeah, which belongs to Benjamin. 15. So they turned aside there in order to enter and spend the night in Gibeah. And they entered, and sat down in the market place of the city. And no one invited them into his house to spend the night.

We might stop here because the really significant verses and the difficulties in them which have given rise to the two-source theory have been discussed. Moreover, Moore and Kittel do not find any more traces of the two sources in chap. 19. Budde and Nowack, however, believe that they can point out at least some.

In vss. 16–21 there is only one place, vs. 18, where the two sources are woven together according to them. Vs. 18 reads: *We are passing through from Bethlehem in Judah to the distant parts of Mount Ephraim. I came thence, and went to Bethlehem in Judah, and I am now going to my home.*¹ It is extremely difficult to see what it is that calls for the assumption of two sources. Nowack says, “vs. 18 $\alpha\beta ba$ is probably parallel to vs. 18 αa .” But is it really? In the first sentence the man says, we are on our way from Bethlehem in Judah to a certain place on Mount Ephraim. In the second sentence he gives the added information, that the place is his home; he had made a trip from there to Bethlehem and was now returning home. If he had not added this, the old man would not have known that the man’s home was on Mount Ephraim. The various parts of the verse belong therefore together and form a coherent whole. The assumption of a combination of two sources is altogether uncalled for here.

In vss. 22–30 Budde, followed by Nowack, points to a number of parallel phrases and says: “By no means can all these double terms be due merely to redundancy of expression” (p. 131). The first pair of these terms is **אִנְשֵׁי הָעִיר** and **אִנְשֵׁי בְנֵי בְלִיעֵל** in vs. 22. The second term is peculiar and is either a conflation in which case **אִנְשֵׁי** is to be omitted (cf. \mathfrak{G}^{AB}), or the text read originally **אִנְשִׁים בְּנֵי בְלִיעֵל** (cf. 20:13; Deut. 13:14; I Kings 21:10 [Moore]). Budde, who accepts the latter, deduces from it that according to one source the men of Gibeah as a whole were made responsible for the outrage, as in Gen. 19:4; according to the other, only a band of scoundrels (cf. 20:13). There is no trace in the sequel that all the men of Gibeah were involved. The author of Gen., chap 19, is careful to make it as plain as possible that he means *all* the male inhabitants of the city, by adding a clause to that effect. Here the addition of **אִנְשִׁים בְּנֵי בְלִיעֵל** appears to be intended to express just the opposite, the men of the city (i.e.), *certain vile scoundrels*. If we omit **אִנְשֵׁי** as due to the conflation of two readings, we have no difficulty whatever and no reason for speaking of parallel terms. This is a little easier, because in all the other cases (20:13; Deut. 13:14; I Kings 21:10) **בְּנֵי בְלִיעֵל** qualifies **אִנְשִׁים** or **הָאִנְשִׁים**; here it would qualify **אִנְשֵׁי הָעִיר**. Besides, it has the support of \mathfrak{G}^{AB} . But in either case we have no evidence of a combination of two accounts.

¹ Read **וָאֵל-בֵּיתִי** for **וָאֵת-בֵּית יְהוָה** with \mathfrak{G} . So Moore, Budde, Nowack, Kittel.

Why the clauses *they gathered about the house* and *pounding¹ against the door* should "in any case" (Nowack) lead one to assume two sources is again difficult to understand. Of course, it may be granted readily enough that *they gathered about the house* is not absolutely necessary, but that is no cogent argument for assigning it to another author. Besides, is not the use of the participle here most effective: *they had gathered about the house and were pounding against the door?*

The hospitable old man is called **הָאִישׁ הַזֶּקֶן** in vss. 16, 17, 20, and **הָאִישׁ בְּעַל הַבַּיִת** in vss. 22, 23. But Ehrlich has already noticed that he could not be called *the owner of the house* before the guest had entered. When he is in the house, the ruffians speak to *the old owner of the house*. To identify him the author has added the designation *old* the first time he calls him *owner of the house*, but after that it was not necessary (cf. vs. 23). Far from being an evidence of two sources, of which the one called him *the old man* the other *the owner of the house*, this variation is most appropriate and shows that our author liked to vary his phrases.

It is hardly worth while to take up the other parallels, for they are of the same kind and would be significant only if the theory of two sources had been proved at the crucial points in vss. 5–15. If it had been proved, it would be possible or even probable that various parallel expressions in the second part of the chapter came from these two different sources. But to our mind it has not been proved. The remaining instances are so little convincing that Nowack introduces them by "perhaps" (vss. 25, 26, 28) or by "*wohl*" (vs. 27). Only on vs. 24 he speaks more confidently.

We owe to Budde the restoration of the original text of vs. 24, for he has proved that *his concubine* is inserted and that the suffixes must all be changed from the—also grammatically impossible—plural masculine to the feminine singular. So we must read, *Behold, here is my virgin daughter, I will bring her out, and you may ravish her, and do with her as you please, but to this man you must not do this wanton deed*. The phrases *you may ravish her* and *you may do with her as you please* are regarded as parallel and referred to two sources.

¹ The hithpa'el is peculiar; elsewhere the *kal* is used. Perhaps **מָת** is due to dittography (cf. the preceding **בֵּית**), or we may read with Ehrlich **מִתְרַפֵּסִים**, *leaning (heavily) against the door*.



But here, as well as in vs. 25, the terms are not strictly synonymous and the two-source theory is uncalled for.

Another question is involved in vs. 24. Moore, following Bertheau, regarded vs. 24 as an insertion based on Gen., chap. 19. He says (p. 418): "Bertheau thinks that the whole verse has been interpolated from Gen. 19⁸, with which it is almost verbally identical: there is no allusion to this offer in the sequel; the connexion and movement of the narrative would be better if v. ²⁵ immediately followed v. ²³; some grammatical irregularities are also pointed out. Such an addition, bringing the story into still closer agreement with Gen. 19, would be entirely natural; the resemblance between the two verses is too mechanical to be the result of mere reminiscence." That there is no allusion to this offer in the sequel is not strange; where should it have been alluded to? The summary in 20:5 contains only the essential points, and rightly. The grammatical irregularities are removed by Budde's reconstruction of vs. 24. That "the connexion and movement of the narrative would be better if v. ²⁵ immediately followed v. ²³" Budde and Nowack are unwilling to admit. They believe that the double text in vs. 24 argues for its retention. Besides, they are convinced that the scoundrels intended to have the concubine, not the Levite, from the very beginning. Their lust was incited by the beauty of the woman. So Budde and Nowack read in vs. 22, following Doorninck, *Bring out the woman . . . that we may know her*. But the text says nothing of the woman's beauty and Moore's objection that "if Doorninck's restoration be accepted, there is nothing in ch. 19 to intimate that the man was in any way molested or threatened, and 20⁵ is left without any foundation" (p. 417), has not really been answered. However, his point that the omission of vs. 24 would give a better connection and movement of the narrative loses its weight with Budde's restoration of the original text. There remains thus only the assertion that "the resemblance between the two verses [Judg. 19:24 and Gen. 19:8] is too mechanical to be the result of mere reminiscence." But this might reasonably be urged against vss. 22, 23 also. If it holds good against the one, why not against the others also?

Ultimately it is a historical consideration that decides this matter. If we regard the incident as historical, our inclination will be to

remove certain points in the narrative which resemble Gen., chap. 19, so much that they cannot be independent of it. If, however, we do not take the incident as history, our principal motive for removing those striking points of resemblance disappears. It is evident, therefore, that the historical criticism of the whole story, chaps. 19-21, must come first, before this point is settled.

The same is true of another point of considerable interest which may now be considered. Budde believes (and Nowack agrees with him) that the original story did not speak of a *Levite*,¹ (1) because the levitical character of the man is of no significance in the story and nothing is said of a corresponding occupation, (2) because *the Levite* occurs only twice in the story (19:1; 20:4) where it is accompanied by *man* or *the man*, which is the term used of him everywhere else. Budde thinks therefore that a later editor inserted the *Levite* in order to conform our story to that of chaps. 17, 18. Not only the similarity of the localities (Bethlehem in Judah and Mount Ephraim) influenced him, but also the desire to make the crime appear to a later time all the more heinous by having it committed against a Levite. But is it really without significance for the story that the man against whom the crime was committed was a Levite? If he had been an Ephraimite the sequel of the story would have been different. In that case he would have appealed for vengeance to his own clan or tribe, but not to all Israel. We know too well from ancient Semite and also Israelite antiquity that this would have been the procedure. But here was a man who could not do that; he had no clan or tribe to appeal to, since he was a Levite. So as a member of the nation he called upon all the Israelites. What was natural in the case of a Levite would by no means have been so in the case of an Ephraimite. The point that the man was a Levite is therefore of real significance for the story. It also makes his marriage with a Bethlehemite concubine a little more natural, if he was from Bethlehem himself; though it is of course not inconceivable that an Ephraimite should have married a woman from Bethlehem. And as for a non-Levitical Judean from

¹ It is strange to read in Moore's *Commentary* on 19:1, "It has been observed above [p. 371] that all the Levites mentioned in ch. 17, 18, 19-21 are in some way connected with Judah, and two of them with Bethlehem." Why is a distinction made between *all* the Levites connected with Judah and the *two* connected with Bethlehem, when the *two* are *all* the Levites mentioned in these chapters?

Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II², 1909, p. 73, goes to the other extreme when he says, "the single Levite, whom we meet in the Book of Judges, comes from Judah."

Bethlehem, he would not have been represented as living in a remote place of Mount Ephraim without some explanation. After the recognition of the significance of the Levite for the story the other arguments are not of sufficient strength to support Budde's theory. That **אִישׁ** should have been added in 19:1 is entirely in line with Hebrew usage, and why **וַיְדֹרֶה אִישׁ לִרְגֵל**, and a man of Levi was residing, should be an awkward expression is difficult to see, for the use of **וַיְדֹרֶה** with the participle is surely good Hebrew. Why then should we expect, as Budde claims, **וַיְדֹרֶה גֵר שָׁם**, or **וַיְדֹרֶה גֵר שָׁם** after **אֲפִרַּיִם**?

And yet Budde may after all be right in his suggestion that the *Levite* is a secondary element in the story. But it is not literary but historical considerations that lead to such an assumption. Historically it is very improbable that the man should have sent his appeal to all the tribes of Israel and that even representatives of all the tribes, not to think of the entire army of 400,000 (!), should have gathered against Gibeah. From all we know of Israel at this period, that is simply inconceivable. If there was therefore actually an expedition against Gibeah, it is much more likely that only the Joseph tribes (Israel in the narrower sense) should have taken part in it. If we regard chap. 19, with most recent critics, as a trustworthy historical narrative, we must look upon *the Levite* in vs. 1 and *the twelve pieces* in vs. 29 as interpolations on the part of the writer who in chap. 20 speaks of an expedition of the united army of all the tribes of Israel. The Levite is then not simply due to the desire of someone who wanted to bring chaps. 17, 18 and chaps. 19-21 into closer connection, as Budde thinks, but it is the well-conceived interpolation of the writer of chap. 20. *All the border of Israel* in vs. 29 referred then originally to Israel in the narrower sense, the Joseph tribes on Mount Ephraim. If, on the other hand, chap. 19 is a part of an unhistorical tale, we have no reason whatever to regard either *the Levite* in vs. 1 or *the twelve pieces* in vs. 29 as interpolations, and *the whole territory of Israel* is to be explained in harmony with chap. 20.

These questions can be decided only after an investigation of chaps. 20, 21, which will be the subject of our next essay. They must, however, not obscure *the outcome of our present investigation, that chap. 19 is not the result of a combination of two sources*, as Budde, Moore, Nowack, and others claim.

ON מַחֲרֵת הַשַּׁבָּת
("THE DAY AFTER THE SABBATH")

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I

The difficulties involved in the expression מַחֲרֵת הַשַּׁבָּת, "from the day after the Sabbath," occurring three times in a section of the so-called Holiness Code (Ph)—namely, Lev. 23:11, 15, 16—are so well known that they need not again be stated in detail. The dispute in regard to the interpretation to be put upon the phrase "from the day after the Sabbath" takes us back several centuries beyond the threshold of the Christian era,¹ and it is interesting to note that from the days of the Samaritans and Sadducees to the period of the Karaites, the followers of Judaism have been split into two opposing camps, the rabbis and their followers² contending that the word in the phrase designates "a day of rest," as which the first day of Passover was reckoned, so that the fifty days intervening between Passover and Pentecost are to be calculated from the 16th day of Nisan which would make the Pentecost fall on the 6th of Sivan, while the Boethusians,³ Samaritans,⁴ and Karaites, interpreting the word שַׁבָּת literally as the Sabbath falling within the Passover week which would bring the Pentecost festival always on a Sunday, but would not fix it permanently on any day of the month of Sivan. There is still a third view represented by the Syriac version⁵ and the Book of Jubilees⁶ and

¹ See the discussion on the phrase in the Babylonian Talmud, Treatise *Menahot*, fol. 65.

² The fullest exposition of the rabbinical view, with a general discussion of opposing views, including those of modern commentators will be found in D. Hoffmann's *Leviticus*, pp. 155–215. See also the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Pentecost."

³ See on this sect, allied apparently to the Sadducees, Hoffmann *op. cit.*, 160 f. and the references there given. According to G. Margollouth in the *Athenaeum* of November 26, 1910, the documents recently published by Professor S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. 1, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge, 1910); deal with this sect whose name, derived from a supposed founder, Boethos ("helper"), is a Greek form of Joshua or Jesus. See, however, G. F. Moore's article "The Covenanters of Damascus" in the *Harvard Theological Review*, IV, 330–77, for a dissenting view.

⁴ Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 40.

⁵ It renders the Hebrew phrase by *wab'tar yau'mā 'aḥrānā*, i.e., "the day after the last day."

See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, p. 106, n. 1.

adopted by the Dosithean sect¹ and the Falashas² of Abyssinia which applies שַׁבָּת to the 7th day of the Passover festival or the 21st day of Nisan, so that the Pentecost would fall on the 15th of Sivan according to the ecclesiastical calendar of 28 days to Nisan, while according to the calendar of the Falashas and Dositheans (in which all the months have 30 days), the date would be the 12th of Sivan. This latter view, however, belongs in the same category as the rabbinical interpretation, since in both instances שַׁבָּת is taken in the sense of a festival "day of rest"—in the one case applied to the 1st day of Passover, in the other to the 7th day.

The Greek version which follows the orthodox tradition³ is of special interest because in each of the three instances in which the phrase occurs it furnishes a different translation—thus illustrating the difficulties encountered in the endeavor to make the biblical text conform to tradition and established usage. In Lev. 23:11 the phrase is rendered τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης, "on the day after the first," i.e., of the Passover festival; vs. 15, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαύριον τῶν σαββάτων, "from the day after the Sabbath;" and vs. 16, ἕως τῆς ἐπαύριον τῆς ἐσχάτης ἑβδομάδος, "until the day after the last week." The word שַׁבָּת is thus taken in one case to designate the first day of Passover, in the second instance as the Sabbath,⁴ and in the third in the sense of "week," as in the phrase in Lev. 23:15, שִׁבְעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת חֲמִיבִיּוֹת which is rendered ἐπτά ἑβδομάδας ὁλοκλήρους, "seven whole weeks."

¹ See Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, I. xxiii. From Schechter's discussion the close affiliation between the Zadokites and Dositheans becomes practically certain, but if this be so then the Boethusians (above, p. 94) would not be an offshoot of the Sadducees, as has been maintained.

² See the note in Charles as above, and Schechter *ibid.*, p. xx, n. 31, and p. xxv, on the connection between the Falashas and the Dositheans.

³ As does the Targum Onkelos which renders מִצְוַת יוֹמָא קִבְּלָא "on the day after the festival," whereas the Targum Jonathan is even more specific in adding מִצְוַת יוֹמָא קִבְּלָא, i.e., "on the day after the first festival day." In our editions of the Targum Onkelos the phrase appears as מִצְוַת יוֹמָא קִבְּלָא in all three instances, which evidently is impossible in Lev. 23:16 where שַׁבָּת can only mean "week" (see below, p. 97). It is interesting in view of this to note that the Jewish Commentator Rashi (*ad Lev.* 23:16) had a Targumic text in which the reading was as in the *Ed. Sabioneta* (ed. Berliner, Targum Onkelos), שִׁבְעִיתָא, i.e., "seventh week."

⁴ The inconsistency of the Greek version in rendering "Sabbath" in Lev. 23:15, whereas the word must evidently be taken in the same sense in Lev. 23:11 and 15, is rather surprising, and raises the question whether this rendering may not be a correction in the interest of the heterodox view.

Fortunately, there is no question as to the rendering of **בַּמָּחֳרָת** as "the day after." Such a passage as II Sam. 11:12, where **גַּם הַיּוֹם בָּיִם הָרֹחַ וּבַמָּחֳרָת** stands in parallelism with **וּבַמָּחֳרָת** is conclusive.

Hoffman in his exhaustive discussion of the subject properly lays stress on the tradition to be traced back to the days of the Greek translation which provided that the Pentecost was celebrated on the 6th day of Sivan, and that within traditional Judaism no other day was ever recognized. Moreover, since the regulation of a cult demands that all festival days should be definitely fixed and since as a matter of fact, all the other Hebrew festivals are fixed in the most definite manner in the Priestly Code, it is unreasonable to assume that an exception should have been made for the Pentecost. The presumption therefore, is in favor of applying the phrase in the two passages Lev. 23:11, 15 to the 16th day of Nisan. On the other hand, the very fact that contrary opinions should have risen in pre-Christian days must be taken as an indication that until fixed by the Priestly Code, Pentecost was a movable feast, which in view of the circumstance that it was originally merely the end of the corn harvest, the barley ripening in the middle of Nisan and the wheat fifty days later, is not surprising. A religious significance for Pentecost is not brought forward until post-Biblical days, and it is evident that the attachment of the festival to the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai is a theological device—entirely arbitrary and artificial—in order to justify and preserve an occasion that otherwise would have no *raison d'être* in a religion whose festivals—as the entire spirit of the religion—had moved far away from the time when agricultural conditions constituted a determining factor. It may be admitted, therefore, that the phrase itself, as a survival of an earlier period in the religion, is open to various interpretations, but on the other hand it is equally clear that in the mind of the compilers of the Priestly Code it was intended definitely to fix Pentecost on a specific day of the month, just as all the other festivals are fixed for specific days;¹ and this could only be brought about by taking the "day after the Sabbath"

¹ Modern commentators like Dillmann, Strack, and even Baentsch neglect to take this point of view which, it seems to me, is decisive, into consideration. Hence, they either leave the decision as to the phrase open, or proceed on a wrong track, as does Baentsch who adopts the "heterodox" view without seeing the difficulties in which he thereby involves himself.

to refer either to the day after the 1st, or to the day after the 7th day of Nisan. Orthodox tradition shows that the Priestly Code had in mind the former which, moreover, is favored by the context.

II

One can also understand how the term שַׁבָּת from meaning "Sabbath" should have acquired the force of "week" as must be assumed in either the orthodox or heterodox interpretation for the third passage, Lev. 23:16 (as well as in vs. 25 שַׁבְּעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת וְהַמִּיָּמוֹת).¹ We have a parallel in חֹדֶשׁ which, originally the "new-moon," designates also the "month."² In Talmudic usage, in fact, the extension of שַׁבָּת to convey the idea of "week" is quite common³ and it is likely or at least possible that in the phrases בְּאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת and צֵאת הַשַּׁבָּת the reference is, as the Jewish commentator Nachmanides suggested, to the incoming and outgoing "weekly" guard, so that we should have another example of this extended usage of the term in biblical literature.

The real difficulty arises when the attempt is made to account for the application of the term שַׁבָּת to the 1st day of Passover in the two other passages (Lev. 23:11, 15). One need only read Hoffmann's discussion of the point at issue⁴ to see how forced and artificial the arguments are which he brings forward to justify this interpretation. Because certain festival days not falling on the 7th day are spoken of as שַׁבְּתוֹן (1st, 15th, and 22d of Tishri)⁵ and in one case (10th of Tishri) as שַׁבָּת שַׁבְּתוֹן,⁶ it does not follow that שַׁבָּת could be applied to any

¹ Of Deut. 16:9, שַׁבְּעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת as a parallel to שַׁבְּעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת.

² E.g. Exod. 40:2, בְּיוֹם הַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ, where the first חֹדֶשׁ means "new moon" and the second one, "month," or Ezek. 45:17, בְּחֹדְשִׁים, "new moons"; vs. 18, לַחֹדֶשׁ, "month"; vs. 20, בְּחֹדֶשׁ, "new moon."

³ E.g. Megillā III, 4, בְּשַׁבָּת, "on the Sabbath," by the side of הַשְּׁבִיעִי, "in the middle of the week." Other examples in Hoffmann's *Leviticus*, p. 210.

⁴ II Kings 11:5-7.

⁵ Hoffmann, *op. cit.* pp. 199-210.

⁶ Lev. 23:24, 39.

⁷ Lev. 23:32. I take שַׁבָּת in this meaningless combination as a marginal comment to suggest the equation שַׁבְּתוֹן = שַׁבָּת. There is, as a matter of fact, no formal distinction between a Sabbath and a Shabbathōn. The latter term is an adjective formation to indicate a day that has the character of a Sabbath in the older sense as set forth in this article. It belongs to a period prior to the development of a Sabbath institution, celebrated every seventh day without any reference to the phases of the moon. Shabbathōn, therefore, has the force of Sabbatical. See further on this below, p. 105, and the author's paper on "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath" in the *American Journal of Theology*, II, 312, and chap. III of the author's work on *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (New York, 1913).

festival day, and since even שַׁבָּתוֹן is never applied to the Passover festival, it is certainly not plausible that שַׁבָּת should have been used as a designation of the 1st day. Nor has the point made by Hoffmann¹ and others that מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת is the most appropriate and briefest designation of the day after the 1st day of Passover much force. It is true that מִמַּחֲרַת הָחֹדֶשׁ or מִמַּחֲרַת הַפּוּדָה might have been ambiguous, since the *Hag* or *Môed* does not terminate with the 1st day, but the compiler of the Holiness Code might have used מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח as in Num. 33:3 and Josh. 5:11 which certainly refers to the 16th day of Nisan (Hoffman, pp. 190f.), just as מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת. It would appear, however, that it is precisely this synonymy between מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח and מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת that has been the source of all the trouble, since it has led scholars to suppose that הַשַּׁבָּת is the designation for the 1st day of the festival, whereas the question whether it may not be merely a designation for the 15th day of any month has until recently² been overlooked. If we turn to the beginning of the chapter we encounter (vs. 5, בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ) the specific mention of the eve of the 14th day as the beginning of Passover to Yahweh, and the 15th day (vs. 6, חֲמִישֶׁה עָשָׂר) as the *Hag* of Massôṭ. It is, therefore, reasonable to interpret the phrase מִמַּחֲרַת הַשַּׁבָּת as the designation of the first day after the 14th, i.e., the 15th day, which would make שַׁבָּת the designation of the middle of the month—quite independently of the fact that the 14th or 15th day of the first month happens to be a festival day.

A discovery made by Dr. T. G. Pinches a number of years ago furnishes the needed proof for this hypothesis and incidentally throws a further light on the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath. In 1904 he published the more complete text of a tablet furnishing the designation of the days of the month in Babylonia, together with the ideographic and phonetic designation of certain terms used in connection with certain days.³ From this list we learn that the 15th day, or the

¹ Hoffmann's attempt to explain why שַׁבָּתוֹן is not applied to the Passover is very sophistical, and rests on an improbable theory that שַׁבָּתוֹן represents a certain grade of rest.

² After this article had been finished, my attention was called to pp. 389 f. of the 2d ed. of Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie*, where the suggestion to regard the phrase as referring to the 15th day of the month is made—so far as I am aware for the first time. The passage quoted by him from the inscription of Gudea has no reference to the full moon.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI (1904), 51–56. Apart from the designations of the days of the month (for which see the following note), we have such

middle of the month, has a special designation, ša-bat-ti, or as it can also be read ša-pat-ti.¹ This term had hitherto been encountered only in a syllabary² as the equivalent of ūm nûḫ libbi. The phrase, clearly to be rendered "day of rest of the heart," was at first interpreted literally by scholars as a "day of rest." Subsequently, when it was ascertained that nûḫ libbi was a frequent expression in lamentation hymns for the pacification of the gods,³ the Babylonian šabattu was regarded either as a day when the gods were unfavorably disposed, or when it became particularly important to secure their favor. The proof, however, that any special day was designated as šabattu was wanting. From a tablet furnishing rites to be observed for the days of the month of Elul (IV², Rawlinson Pl. 32-33), it was ascertained that the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th of the month were unfavorable days. Each one of these days was described as UT HUL=ūmu limnu. Special precautions were prescribed for the ruler, who is not to eat meat that had touched the fire, not to ride on a chariot, not to be vainglorious (?) etc., but there was no reference to nûḫ libbi or šabattum in connection with these days. In view of this, it was not permissible to go farther than to assume that the Babylonians had four days corresponding to the four phases of the moon as unfavorable, and that the 19th day had the same character. While it seemed likely that there was some connection between the Hebrew Sabbath and these four days, especially in view of the originally austere character of the Hebrew Sabbath,⁴ there was no

terms as šulum, "evil day," rimku and takiltu, "purification days," isinnu, "festival day," akitu, "New Year's festival," eššešu and ūmu arḫu, "new-moon."

¹ The other days from 1 to 10 are designated merely as first, second, etc., as the 20th and 30th are entered as ešrā ("twenty") and šelašā ("thirty"). Only the 21st (besides the 15th) has a special designation, ibbu, day of "anger" (= uggatu, CT. XVIII, 23, 15), which also occurs as the description of the 18th in the list IV¹, R 32 Col. II, 39 by the side of UT HUL=ūmu limnu, while the 25th day is described as ar-ḫu Tū(la), i.e., "end of the month," i.e., the beginning of the period when the moon is about to disappear. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, 510 f.

² IR 32, Nr. 1, 16=CT, XVIII, 23 (K 4397), 17, ūm nu-uḫ lib-bi=ša-bat-tum.

³ The juxtaposition with linûḫ kabittika, "may thy liver be at rest," in these hymns definitely established the meaning of linûḫ libbika as "may thy heart be at rest," in the sense of appeasement of anger.

⁴ See Jastrow, "Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," *American Journal of Theology*, II, 312-62. I see no reason, after reading the monographs of Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1907); Bohn, *Sabbat im Alten Testament* (Gütersloh, 1903), and Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament* (Göttingen, 1905), to abandon my thesis that the Hebrew institution of the Sabbath rests on an ancient substratum involving the "unfavorable" character of specific days in the

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reason to suppose that the Babylonians at any time had a Sabbath as a day of rest, celebrated every seventh day, and, as intimated, the connecting link between the Hebrew שַׁבָּת and the Babylonian šabattu was missing. The text published by Pinches supplies this link, since it clearly shows that the 15th day of the month, or full-moon, was designated as šabattu, the identity of which with שַׁבָּת there is of course no reason any longer to question. Zimmern, following up Pinches' discovery with two articles in *ZDMG*,¹ reinforced the conclusion that šabattu was indeed the designation for the full-moon, and that as such it could be applied to the 14th day of the month as well as to the 15th day. In the Babylonian-Assyrian astrological texts, the 14th is quite as frequently entered as the time of full-moon as the 15th.²

From these same astrological texts we know that there were three periods in the month that were fraught with special significance, the new-moon, the disappearance of the moon at the end of the month for three days, and the full-moon. According as these days fell at the expected time or not, the omen was favorable or unfavorable. The Babylonians and Assyrians having no means, till about the third century B.C.,³ of calculating the time of the appearance of the new-moon were dependent on observation;⁴ therefore it often happened that they missed the exact day of the appearance of the new-moon, and hence also of the full-moon. For the time of full-moon we have

month. Evidence for this is abundant. Hehn (pp. 120 f.) admits this austere substratum and his opposition to my views resolves itself into a question of words. It may be that I pressed the thesis too hard, but the foundation on which it rests remains unshaken. Bohn does not refer to my investigation, but the evidence that he gathers (pp. 46 f. s.) for the joyful character of the Sabbath belongs exclusively to the post-exilic period, and it is precisely the emphasis laid upon the joy that should prevail on the Sabbath day which reveals the attempt to remove the traces of its original character. Meinhold, who rejects the thesis because of the proof now furnished that the Sabbath was originally the full-moon, overlooks the fact that both the new-moon and the full-moon as periods of transition are days of anxiety—not necessarily unfavorable, but uncertain in their character. They were, therefore, days on which it was important to avoid doing anything to arouse the displeasure or anger of the gods. That is the essential character of a Babylonian ū mu lī m n u. See further chap. III, "The Hebrew and the Babylonian Sabbath," in my *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (New York, 1914).

¹ Vol. LVIII, pp. 199–202, 458–60.

² See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, 468–82.

³ See Kugler, *Babylonische Mondrechnung*, pp. 54–58, 115–202.

⁴ See Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 429. It is interesting to note that the Jewish Sanhedrin retained this purely empirical method of determining the appearance of the new-moon through witnesses who reported that they had seen the new crescent. See the Mishnah of Rosh Ha-Shana, II, 6–7.

indeed in the astrological texts a leeway of five days—from the 12th to 16th as the period of its possible appearance. The full-moon was particularly hard to recognize because the moon might *appear* to be full before the actual period of full-moon had set in. A too early or a belated appearance of the full-moon presaged evil,¹ and so also in case the moon disappeared or seemed to disappear before the 27th of the month.² The reappearance of the moon was hailed with joy,³ the popular myth picturing the occasion as the release of the moon from captivity; but the two other periods, the full-moon and the end of the month, took on a somber aspect. The day of disappearance had its special designation, *ûm bubbuli*,⁴ and correspondingly the full-moon had a special name, *šabattu*. Since, moreover, as Combe has shown,⁵ *nannaru*, one of the names of the moon-god was originally the designation of the new-moon, we would have special names for all three occasions, *nannaru* = new-moon, *šabattu* = full-moon, and *hubbulu* = disappearance at the end of the month.

The connection between *šabattu*⁶ and שָׁבַת being obvious, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that we should find traces of this earlier usage of the term as a designation of the full-moon in the Old Testament. The difficulties involved in the term מִמְחַרַּת הַשָּׁבַת vanish, if in the two passages Lev. 23:11 and 15 we take שָׁבַת in this original sense as the specific designation of the 15th day of the month, the middle of the month when the moon was full, and when there was a transition to the waning period of the moon. On the assumption that the Hebrews, like the Babylonians, at one time applied the term *shabbath* to the day of full-moon, we can now understand the frequent juxtaposition of new-moon and Sabbath in the Old Testament, to which Zimmern likewise called attention.⁷ If in II Kings 4:23, we find

¹ See Jastrow, *ibid.*, II, 466 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 511 f.

³ See, e.g., Hymn Nr. I, 20 (=Schell, *Fouilles à Sippar*, Nr. 18) in King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 6.

⁴ I.e., "day of carrying off," also known simply as *bubbulum*, e.g., King, *loc. cit.*, No. I, 17. It is also spoken of as an *ûm idirti*, "a day of anxiety," and the like.

⁵ *Histoire du Culte de Sin*, pp. 8 and 13 f.

⁶ The identity is established whether we read *šabattu* or *šapattu*, for, assuming that the Babylonians pronounced the word *šapattu*, the *p* would be due, as Jensen pointed out (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, XIV, 182), to the initial *š*. Jensen's view was accepted by Zimmern (*ZDMG*, LVIII, 459). See also Kùchler, *Beiträge zur babylonisch-assyrischen Medizin*, p. 90.

⁷ *ZDMG*, LVIII, 202.

the husband of the Shunnamite woman saying to his wife who wishes to start on a journey to consult the "man of God" (אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים), "Why dost thou go to-day? It is neither new-moon nor Sabbath," the association of the ideas shows that it was customary to seek an oracle on these occasions; and it is a fair presumption that both days partook of the same character. If we apply Sabbath here to the full-moon, we should have a common meeting-ground for new-moon and Sabbath in the transition period that each represents, one marking the beginning of the moon's growth, the other the beginning of the decline. Incidentally, the passage in Kings reveals an observance of a Sabbath that could not have had much in common with the distinctively Hebrew institution. To make a journey on a Sabbath day in order to consult a "man of God" is as far removed as possible from the Sabbath of the Pentateuchal Codes, enforcing cessation from all labor and emphasizing the dedication of the day to Yahweh. It is a fair inference that prior to the organization of the kingdom, leading to the growing importance of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and to the organization of an elaborate priesthood, the Hebrew Sabbath did not exist, except in embryo.

It does not of course follow that wherever new-moon and Sabbath are placed in parallelism, the reference is to the beginning and to the middle of the month. The phrase would survive long after the original association of the two terms had passed away. So when Isaiah (1:13) says, "New-moon and Sabbath, calling an assembly, I cannot bear iniquity with holy convocation," all that we are justified in concluding is that both occasions were marked in a solemn manner. Perhaps a trace of the once close association between new-moon and Sabbath is to be seen in the complaint of Amos (8:5) who, in denouncing the greed of the people, says that they cannot wait for the end of the new-moon and of the Sabbath day to resume their barter and exchange: "When will the new-moon be over, that we may sell corn, and the Sabbath [be over] that we may open up grain?"

We have clearly reached the time when the Sabbath, celebrated every seventh day without reference to the phases of the moon, had assumed the character of a day of cessation from labor and business; but that the same restrictions were applied to the first day of the month—for which there is no warrant in any of the codes—can best

be accounted for as a survival of the association of new-moon and full-moon as transition periods in which it was essential to take precautions for fear of arousing the displeasure of some deity. The *restrictive* aspects of the Hebrew Sabbath are similarly due, as I have suggested elsewhere,¹ to this anxiety aroused by a transition period, such as the time of full-moon was. When, for example it is said that the people are not to leave their houses on the Sabbath day (Exod. 16:29), nor to kindle any fires (Exod. 35:3), nor to eat anything cooked over a fire (Exod. 16:23), it is evident that such restrictions are not an outcome of the ordinance in the two Decalogues to keep the Sabbath holy by abstaining from physical labor and by granting the members of the household and even the domesticated animals—the ox and the ass—a respite from the toil of the week. The labor meant is work in the fields in accord with the general character of the Pentateuchal Codes which assume agricultural conditions as the normal state, and which are adapted to such a mode of life. The prohibition against leaving one's house on a certain day is of a totally different order and rests on the fear that something may happen to one. It fits in with a day on which the gods are prone to anger, just as the prohibition against fire rests on the notion that fire as a sacred element must not be touched if there is a possibility of divine displeasure. Such restrictions, we can well suppose, would survive from the time when the Sabbath was an inauspicious day marking the period of full moon; they would be transferred to the later Sabbath celebrated every seventh day without regard to the phases of the moon and which was to be observed as a day of recreation—"that one may refresh oneself," as the expressive phrase (Exod. 23:12) reads. But on the other hand it is equally clear that they antedate the distinctively Jewish Sabbath and arose independently of it. In Hos. 2:13 and Isa. 66:23 the combination of new-moon and Sabbath is purely conventional, but when Ezekiel in his elaborate program for the construction of the temple and the reorganization of the cult provides² that the "inner eastern gate" should be closed during the six days of the week but open on new-moon and Sabbath for the

¹ See the article above (p. 99, n. 4) referred to and also in *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, pp. 168f., where this point is set forth in greater detail.

² Ezek. 46:1.

assembling of the people therein, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in this instance the association of new-moon and Sabbath is a survival—perhaps an unconscious one in the mind of the prophet—of the character of the older Sabbath, marking the full-moon period as the complement to the new-moon.

As a further trace of the significance attached by the Hebrews to the full-moon period, we have the two chief pre-exilic festivals—the Passover in the spring combined with the Ḥag of Maṣṣôt and the Ḥag in the fall, that became known as the Ḥag of Sukkôt—both fixed for the middle of the month. Both are agricultural festivals, the former marking the beginning of the corn harvest, the latter the close of the fruit harvest. Naturally harvest times cannot be fixed for any *particular* day and so the full-moon time of the 1st and 7th months are chosen as *about* corresponding to the beginning and end of the harvest respectively. Later, when with the definite organization of an elaborate cult and of an extensive priesthood it became necessary to fix the festivals definitely, the 15th day of Nisan and the 15th day of Tishri were chosen. This point of view survives into the post-exilic period where we find the New Year's day fixed at the new-moon of the 7th month, and on the other hand we find an old spring festival that fell in the middle of Adar revived and given a Jewish coloring by being associated with the events told in the book of Esther. The result is the festival of Purim celebrated on the 15th day of Adar, preceded by a fast day on the 14th day. The fast and the festival form the two aspects of the period of transition marked by the full-moon, the feeling of anxiety lest the full-moon might not set in at the expected time, followed by the sense of relief at the successful passing of the crisis.

With such survivals, even to a late period, of the part played by the views associated with new-moon and full-moon, we ought not to be surprised to find also a survival of the former views associated with the Sabbath as the period of full-moon in the language. The two references in Lev. 23:11 and 15 stand out as solitary sign-posts of an abandoned road. But is there not a difficulty in assuming that in the same chapter (vs. 16) we should find the phrase, עַד מִמָּחֳרַת הַשָּׁבִיעִת הַשְּׁבִיעִת used in the sense of week, i.e., “until the day after the completion of the seventh week”? If we assume the twenty-third

chapter of Leviticus to be of one piece, we would indeed have to admit an *impasse*, but the chapter, as every other chapter in the various Pentateuchal Codes, is composite in character, showing various super-imposed layers on an old substratum and furthermore marked by glosses and comments.¹ In this chapter we encounter other traces of archaic usage, such as the introduction of the term שַׁבְּתוֹן to describe the 1st, 15th, and 22d day of Tishri² as well as the 10th day of this month.³ That *shabbathôn* is merely another form for שַׁבָּת is shown by vs. 3 where שַׁבְּתוֹן is applied to the ordinary Sabbath. One is tempted to conclude from this that the original force of the ending *ôn* in *shabbathôn* was to give an adjectival force—a day having the character of a Sabbath, on which the same precautions were to be exercised as at the full-moon period. In other words, I venture to suggest on the basis of the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus that שַׁבְּתוֹן was introduced at a time when שַׁבָּת still had an austere character, and that the term was intended to designate other days on which rites *like* those provided for the full-moon period were to be observed. Later, as the consciousness of the older meaning of שַׁבָּת passed away in the face of the growing significance of the observance of the 7th day which as a central institution of the religion became the Sabbath writ large, שַׁבְּתוֹן was dropped and only survived like a fossil specimen that has found its way into a later stratum.

III

To analyze the chapter in detail would carry us too far from our immediate subject. That must be left for another occasion. I may content myself here with summarizing the results of my study of the chapter which show that the section in which מִמְחֶרֶת הַשַּׁבָּת occurs in

¹ See an article by the writer, "An Analysis of Lev., chaps. 13 and 14" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, IV, No. 3) in which I illustrate through these two chapters the complicated process involved in the growth of the legal sections of the codes.

² Lev. 23:24, 39.

³ 23:32, where שַׁבָּת is a gloss to indicate that שַׁבְּתוֹן - שַׁבָּת and which, creeping into the text, brought about the meaningless שַׁבָּת שַׁבְּתוֹן. The same is the case in vs. 3, where שַׁבְּתוֹן in the sense of an austere occasion is the older designation, which is equated by a commentator with שַׁבָּת. To translate שַׁבָּת שַׁבְּתוֹן as "a Sabbath of Sabbaths" or "a Sabbath of rest" is a mere makeshift. Every Sabbath is a "Sabbath of rest" and a "Sabbath of Sabbaths" is absurd, particularly when applied to the ordinary Sabbath as in vs. 3.

the sense of "the day after the full-moon" belongs to a stratum which antedates the rise of the distinctly Jewish Sabbath, while its use in vs. 16 in the sense of "week" belongs to a later layer dating from a period when a Sabbath was celebrated every 7th day without reference to the phases of the moon. The chapter is a combination of two lists or two calendars of festivals dovetailed into each other, and to which numerous later additions have been made, glosses and comments inserted and the whole brought into a semblance of unity by the introduction of certain phrases, indicative of the later character of the festivals as (1) **מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ** occasions of "holy convocations," (2) **כָּל-מְלָאכָת עֲבֹדָה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ** marked by "cessation from labor," and (3) **חֻקֵּי עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם** ordained as an "everlasting statute for your generations." The two layers are revealed by the two headings and the two subscripts, namely, vss. 2 and 4, forming the headings, and vss. 37 and 44, the subscripts. Vss. 2 and 37 form the heading and subscript respectively for the later layer, while vs. 4 which has been amplified by the conventional addition of **מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר-אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרָיִם יְהוָה תִּקְרְאוּ אֹתָם בְּמוֹעֲדֵם** is the heading of the older layer for which vs. 44 forms the subscript. In the older layer the Sabbath is *not* included among the festivals. Its inclusion in the late layer (vs. 3) may be an afterthought, in which case the use of **שַׁבָּתוֹן** as an alternative for **שַׁבָּת** would be an archaism to make the description of the 7th day of each week correspond to the 1st, 10th, 15th, and 22d day of Tishri which are designated as **שַׁבָּתוֹן**. The older layer begins with the festival of Pesach (vs. 5) celebrated at twilight of the 14th day of the first month, while the later layer introduces (vs. 6) the **חַג הַמַּצּוֹת**—the Hag of *Massôt* to be celebrated for 7 days. It is the older layer that provides for the waving of the first sheaf by the priest to whom it is brought on the day after the full-moon (**מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת**) i.e., on the 16th day of the first month (vss. 10–11).¹ From the later layer the sacrificial regulations (vss. 12–13) are added, as also v. 14 which includes in the first part a general instruction the nature of which is not altogether clear.² The older layer provides for the

¹ The first part of the verse, "When ye come to the land which I give you and ye garner its harvest" is an addition by the compiler of the two layers.

² A comparison with Josh. 5:11 suggests that **רָמַל** is a gloss or comment to **קָלִי**. The variant **קָלִי** in Joshua to **קָלִי** in Lev., chap. 23 indicates that the term was no longer

counting of 50 days from the day after the full moon, when bread made of the new wheat is to be brought as first offerings to Yahweh, but the verses in which this is set forth (vss. 15-17) contain parts of the later layer, together with explanatory glosses. The words *שִׁבְעַת שָׁבֻעֹת תְּמִימוֹת תִּהְיֶינָה* at the end of vs. 15 represent a comment as does 16a, *עַד מִמָּחֶרֶת הַשָּׁבֶת הַשְּׁבִיעִית*, while the provision to bring a new *minḥâ* (at the end of vs. 16) is taken over from the later list, just as the specification (vs. 17b) of what this *minḥâ* is to consist of (2/20 of fine flour baked without leaven)¹ is a part of the later layer which assumes bloody and cereal offerings in connection with all festivals. Hence vss. 18-21 belong to this later layer. The original form of this part of the older stratum underlying the chapter reads about as follows:

בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן
בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים פֶּסַח לַיהוָה וְהִבְאָתֶם אֶת־עֹמֶר
רֵאשִׁית קִצְרֻכְכֶם אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן וְהִנִּיחָה אֶת־הָעֹמֶר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לְעֹלֹתֶכֶם
מִמָּחֶרֶת הַשָּׁבֶת יִיפְנֹה הַכֹּהֵן וְסִפְרָתֶם לָכֶם מִמָּחֶרֶת הַשָּׁבֶת מִיּוֹם
הַבִּיאָתְכֶם אֶת־עֹמֶר הַתְּנוּפָה חֲסָפֵי חֲמִשִּׁים יוֹם (ו) מִמוֹשְׁבֵיכֶם
יְהוָה: תָּבֹאוּ לֶחֶם תְּנוּפָה: בַּפְּנִיִּים לַיהוָה:
i.e., "on the 14th day of the 1st month at twilight is the Passover to Yahweh, and ye shall bring the sheaf of the first of your harvesting to the priest who shall wave the sheaf before Yahweh for your propitiation. On the day after the Sabbath [i.e., the full-moon] the priest shall wave it. And ye shall count from the day after the Sabbath [i.e., the full-moon], from the day that ye bring the sheaf of waving ye shall count 50 days [and] bring from your habitations bread of waving as first offerings to Yahweh."⁴

understood. Perhaps the correct reading in both Joshua and Lev., chap. 23 is *לֶחֶם קָלִי* in the sense of bread made of the new barley, in which case *מִצֹּת* in Joshua would either be a slip for *לֶחֶם*, or is to be taken in the sense of "cakes of the new barley."

¹ שְׁתֵּים "two," awkwardly added, is a comment, based probably on later usage.

² Further explained in Lev. 2:14-16.

³ This phrase *בְּכֹרִים לַיהוָה* suggested the name *יּוֹם הַבְּכֹרִים* "day of first offerings" for the festival in Num. 28:26, whereas Exod. 23:16 the occasion is designated as *חַג הַקִּצִּיר*. "Harvesting Hag" to which a misleading explanatory comment *בְּכֹרִי מִעֲשֵׂהְךָ*, "the first offerings of thy deeds," is added, with a view of equating the *חַג הַקִּצִּיר* with *יּוֹם הַבְּכֹרִים*. Lev., chap. 23 shows that the 50th day after the Pesach festival had no specific name. It simply marked the end of the spring harvest which began with the ripening of the barley in the middle of the 1st month and ended with the ripening of the wheat 50 days later.

⁴ שְׁתֵּים, "two," is a later addition. See above, n. 1.

The section, thus freed from its later encumbrances, bears all the earmarks of belonging to an early period of religious evolution. The setting is for agricultural conditions, but the rites smack of popular customs. The priest is already there—a mediator between the deity and the worshiper—but there is no sanctuary with an elaborate cult, no priesthood to be supported by rich offerings of animals and cereals. A sheaf of the new wheat is to be “waved”—to be raised on high by the priest as the gesture of offering it to the god of the fields;¹ and this is to be done “for your propitiation” (לְרַצֹּנֶם) in order to secure the good-will and the favor of the corn-spirit—just as the original purpose of the provision not to glean “the corner of thy field in thy garnering” (vs. 22) was to leave some remnant for the spirits of the field, a custom for which there are parallels elsewhere.² A later age changed the custom into an act of charity by adding “for the poor and the stranger thou shalt leave them.”

Equally simple and direct without any suggestion of an obligation imposed by a priesthood is the provision to count 50 days till the end of the corn harvest, and then to celebrate the occasion by offering the deity bread made from the wheat, the last of the cereals to ripen.

Corresponding to these simple provisions for the beginning and end of the corn harvest in the spring, we have equally simple rites to be observed for the fruit harvest in the fall. The older layer is represented by vss. 39–40, the later layer by vss. 34–36, with vs. 37 as the subscript, amplified through the summary in vs. 38, while vss. 41–43 are further supplements belonging originally after vs. 36 as part of the older layer, but transferred to their present position through the editing process involved in welding the two layers into a unity. In the older layer, the fall festival is simply the חַג־יְהוָה, “the festival of Yahweh,” whereas the later layer, having recognized a

¹ This gesture of dedication by “raising” the offering suggests that it originated at a time when there was an image or symbol of a deity on a pedestal, and the priest lifted the offering up to the image or symbol. The embodiment of the phrase in later layers of ritualistic regulations, as e.g. Lev. 14:12b, 24; 8:27, 29, is conventional, since shoulders or breasts of lambs or goats are too heavy to be “waved”—a survival of the time when a sheaf, or loaves of bread, or small quantities of flour and oil were “raised” to symbolize their being offered to a deity. In the latest summaries of sacrificial regulations, Lev., chaps. 1–5 and Num., chaps. 28–29, no “waving” is referred to. It is open to question whether the method of “waving” detailed in rabbinical literature (see the article “Omer” in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IX, 399a) represents a genuine tradition, though this method also could be applicable to light objects only and not to shoulders or breasts of large animals.

² See Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, I, 232–35.

הַיָּג הַמִּצִּוֹת (vs. 5), must specify the other *Hag* as הַיָּג הַסְּפֹת (vs. 34). The *Hag* of the older layer is a festival of seven days' rejoicing, with the 1st and 8th days, i.e., the 15th and 22d days of the 7 months, as שְׁבָחוֹן — partaking of the character of "transition" periods, whereas in the later layer the 1st and 8th days are set aside for holy convocation, on which no work is to be done, with offerings—briefly referred to as אֲשֵׁרָה¹—for all of the 7 days. The old provision simply read (vss. 39–40): "On the 15th day of the 7th month, when ye gather the produce of the land, ye shall celebrate a festival of Yahweh for seven days—the 1st is a shabbathôn, and the 8th day is a shabbathôn. And ye shall take on the first day fruit of the Hadar tree, palm branches, and a thick bough² and rejoice before Yahweh for seven days."

It is not necessary for our purposes to take up the two other festivals enumerated in this chapter, (1) the 1st day of the 7th month (vss. 24–25) and (2) the 10th day of the 7th month (vss. 27–32). The latter clearly reveals two layers. In regard to the festival on the 1st day of the 7th month, one may be in doubt whether the older layer included it, though the use of שְׁבָחוֹן favors the supposition. In that case, זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה would describe the day in the later layer.³ Both layers recognize the 10th of the month as an occasion for "afflicting one's soul," but whether in the older layer this meant fasting, as is assumed in the later layer, is again an open question. It is the older layer again which designates the 10th day as שְׁבָחוֹן (vs. 32) to which, as above indicated,⁴ a gloss added שָׁבֹת as an equation.

Leaving this aside and confining ourselves to the sections of the older layer in which the phrase מִמְחֶרֶת הַשָּׁבֹת occurs, the analysis will have shown that the survival of the use of שָׁבֹת as a designation for the "full-moon" period is in keeping with the general archaic character of the old list of festive days in which it occurs, marked by

¹ The full specification will be found Num. 29:12–38.

² עֵנֶה עֵץ-עֵבֹת, which, being an unusual expression, is interpreted as עֵץ-בִּי-חַל. "brook willows"—as the kind of a "thick bough" that is meant. "The palm branches" may likewise be a later insertion.

³ See Num. 29:1.

⁴ Above, p. 105, n. 3. I believe that the 10th day of the 7th month marks a very old festival connected with the yaum 'ashurá' of the ancient Arabs, and which passed through a very elaborate process before developing into the post-exilic "day of atonement." I hope to set this thesis forth in a special article on Lev., chap. 16.

observances for the occasions specified that reveal their antiquity by their simple and naïve character. If the analysis here offered is correct, a further proof will have been furnished for the thesis that the distinctively Jewish Sabbath is a later institution than the *Hag* in the fall and than the harvest festival in the spring which was divided into two parts, the time of the barley harvest in the middle of the 1st month and that of the wheat harvest falling 50 days later.

OLD TESTAMENT PARALLELS TO *TABELLAE*
*DEFIXIONUM*¹

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The sorcerer and his "agreement with hell" were under the ban of the God of the Hebrews. Those "that have familiar spirits" and "wizards that peep and that mutter"² were time and again anathematized by prophet, priest, and lawgiver.³ Through Micah the promise was given to the people that God would some day rid them of these vampires on public credulity.⁴ All this is in strict harmony with official Hebrew theology, for the mere recognition of the spirits invoked by the magician is *ipso facto* a denial of monotheism.⁵ But an official religion is among all peoples powerless to wean the untutored masses wholly away from the more primitive religious beliefs and practices of their ancestors. Now it is almost certain that the religion of the common people in Palestine in the Canaanitish period was very similar to that of the corresponding class in Egypt;⁶ its resemblance to the popular religion of the Babylonians was less marked. The common features of these religions are "the worship of local 'saints,' and the use of the proper charms and the wearing of proper amulets to ward off hostile powers."⁷ The employment of charms and amulets is nothing else than the practice of magic. It is therefore natural to expect to find evidences that the common people of Israel even in the more mature stages of their religious development frequently relapsed into the gross practices of idolatry and witchcraft. We know that such evidences are abundant.⁸

¹ I am greatly indebted to Dr. George V. Schick, Rayner Fellow in Oriental Languages in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, for generous assistance in the preparation of this article. It was contributed as a paper to the joint sessions of the American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, in Washington, D.C., December, 1912.

² Isa. 8:19 A.V.

³ Deut. 18:9-14.

⁴ Mic. 5:12.

⁵ Cf. M. Gaster in *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, III, 451, under "Charms and Amulets."

⁶ D. D. Luckenbill, *Biblical World*, XXXV (1910), 374.

⁷ Luckenbill, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Lev. 20:6; I Sam. 8:8; I Kings 11:7; 12:28; 17:9-17; 21:6 ff.; Isa. 57:3; Jer. 27:9.

It is also natural to expect that by an osmotic process these baser beliefs of the masses passed unchanged into the higher spheres of thought and action from which they were officially excluded and to which they were logically inimical. We are now about to discuss several passages from the Old Testament which exhibit practices closely akin to the extant Greek and Roman *tabellae defixionum*, or curse-tablets. Whether or not they are themselves essentially *defixiones* will be considered later in the paper.

I. (1) "And there was a man of Mount Ephraim whose name was Micah. (2) And he said unto his mother, The eleven hundred shekels of silver that were taken from thee, about which thou cursedst, and speakest of also in my ears, behold the silver is with me; I took it" (Judg. 17:1-2 A.V.).¹

II. (8) "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. (9) Ye *are* cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, *even* this whole nation" (Mal. 3:8-9 A.V.).²

III. (2) "And he said unto me [i.e., Zechariah], what dost thou see? And I said, I see a volume flying (3) And he said unto me, This is the curse that is going out upon the face of all the land. For every thief is hereby purged away from hence, and every perjurer is hereby purged away from hence. (4) I have sent it forth—an oracle of Jehovah of Hosts—and it shall enter the thief's house, and the house of him that hath sworn falsely by my name, and it shall roost in the midst of his house and consume it, with its beams and its stones" (Zech. 5:2-4).³

IV. (60) "So Jeremiah wrote in a book all the evil that should come upon Babylon, *even* all these words that are written against Babylon. (61) And Jeremiah said to Seraiah, When thou comest to Babylon, and shalt see, and shalt read all these words; (62) Then shalt thou say, O Lord, thou hast spoken against this place, to cut it off, that none shall remain in it, neither man nor beast, but that it shall be desolate forever. (63) And it shall be, when thou hast

¹ Cf. ". . . . He that provoketh his mother is cursed of the Lord" (*Apocr. Eccl.* 3:16).

² Wellhausen's translation is more in harmony with the curse in general: "Mit dem Fluch seid ihr bedroht und doch betrügt ihr mich, ihr Leute alle?" (*Kleine Propheten*, p. 55); cf. George Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, p. 368.

³ Trans. by G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

made an end of reading this book, *that* thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates: (64) And thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her " (Jer. 51:60-64 A.V.).

V. (1) "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city *even* Jerusalem: (2) And lay siege against it, and cast a mount against it, and set *battering* rams against it roundabout. (3) Moreover take thou unto thee an iron pan, and set it *for* a wall of iron between thee and the city: and set thy face against it, and it shall be besieged and thou shalt lay siege against it. This shall be a sign to the house of Israel" (Ezek. 4:1-3 A.V.).

VI. (17) " Then Elisha said, Shoot. And he [Joash] shot. And he said, The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou have consumed *them*. (18) And he said, Take the arrows. And he took *them*. And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the ground. And he smote thrice, and stayed. (19) And the man of God was wroth with him, and said, Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed *it*: whereas now thou shalt smite Syria *but* thrice" (II Kings 13:17-19 A.V.).

ANALYSIS

1. *Against whom the curses¹ are directed.*—Nos. I, II, and III are directed against thieves. In II the culprit is known and is definitely mentioned—the people of Israel. In I and III, on the other hand, the culprits are unknown; but the two curses are mutually different in that in I a specific offense is in mind, while in III theft, as a type of crime, is castigated. Perjurers also are cursed in III. Declared enemies of the authors of the respective curses are assailed in IV, V, and VI. Israel is assumed to stand in the same hostile attitude to God in V, as Babylon and Syria to Israel in IV and VI severally. It is significant that these enemies are known to those issuing the curses.

2. *Authors.*—In I, II, and V these curses are professedly initiated by those who suffer most directly from the evils which they are

¹ For brevity's sake they will be referred to by number in this article.

denouncing: in I and II by those whose property has been abstracted, the mother and the outraged Deity; and in V by the victim of Israel's religious revolt, the outraged Deity again. Nos. III, IV, and VI are ostensibly from the one source, God, who espouses the cause of those directly suffering, the plundered in the first instance, and the nation of Israel in the other two. But from the literary point of view the real authors of several of these curses are the authors of the books in which they are recorded. To be specific, Malachi is the author of II, Ezekiel of V, and Jeremiah (ostensibly, at least) along with Seraiah, of IV. But on the other hand, VI is to be attributed to Elisha, the human agent of God, rather than to the historian.

3. *Causes*.—In every case definite material causes lie behind the curses. In I it is the loss of eleven hundred shekels of silver, in II the withholding of tithes, in V the rebellion of Israel (see Ezek. 2:1 ff.). If the causes are not mentioned in the remaining three curses it is because they are present in the context and therefore as good as mentioned.

4. *Intended effects*.—All six curses are alike in that they aim at bringing the victims within the power of the authors. Their several ultimate aims differ considerably. For instance, the aim of I and II is to recover the lost properties and in the latter case to punish as well, if restitution is not made; the aim of III, IV, and VI is utterly to destroy the offenders, their hearths and all other possessions. The author of V apparently desired the complete reduction of Jerusalem to a state of helplessness. Finally, all effects desired are physical in their character.

5. *Whether written or spoken*.—The first curse of the list appears to have been spoken only. The second was originally spoken by God, but inasmuch as it was recorded by Malachi it is probably to be regarded as a written curse. No. IV, on the contrary, was originally written, while its execution demanded the recitation of at least a part of its formula. Since magic does not distinguish between delineation and writing, V must be placed in the same category as IV. A certain number of oral rites accompany the symbolic actions described in VI. The formula of III, as far as we can judge, seems to have been written only. It will be shown later that there is no fundamental difference in magic between oral and written formulae.¹

¹ P. 119, n. 3.

6. *Material used for writing.*—Books were used to receive curses II, III, and IV; a tile (or brick) was used for V. The importance of these features will be evident at a later stage of the discussion.¹

7. *Symbolism.*—This phase of the analysis involves the basic and at the same time the most conspicuous elements of the magic art. Neither I nor III exhibits any trace of symbolism. The unusually large dimensions of the scroll (ten by twenty cubits)² seen in the prophet's vision in III, are clearly symbolic of the wide range of this particular curse (see vs. 3). The sinking of the stone-laden book of IV in the waters of the Euphrates is indubitably a realistic portrayal of the anticipated fall of Babylon.³ The rude sketch of Jerusalem on the tile in V and the mimic siege following its execution are indisputably magic in their character.⁴ There is no doubt, too, that the three arrows shot into the ground in the performance of curse VI are to be interpreted as infallibly presaging exactly three defeats of the Syrians at the hands of Israel. This involves the universal practice of magic piercing.⁵

8. *Secrecy.*—Only in IV and VI are there any indications at all that secrecy was observed in putting the curses into operation. In the former the wording of vs. 61 suggests that Seraiah was warned to take precautions that no man should see him work this spell.⁶ Discovery might lead to the annulment of the curse, to counter-charm, or even to the punishment of the operator and of his nation,⁷ for implicit belief in the efficacy of such operations was universal. It is quite possible that the burial of the book in the river was prompted by the desire to place the curse beyond the reach and ken of the Babylonians as well as for symbolic ends.⁸ It may safely be inferred from the nature of the other curse (VI) that care was taken to prevent the Syrians from learning anything about it.

¹ Pp. 119–20.

² Zech. 5:2.

³ See Fox, *Amer. Jour. of Philology*, XXXIII (1912), 3, pp. 304; 307–8. The magic symbolism of this act is here made clear.

⁴ Cf. “. . . Dans la clôture tu l'enfermeras” (i.e., l'image de la labartu) (Fossey, *Magie Assyrienne*, p. 81; also app., *Textes Magiques*, IVR, 55, no. 1b, 37–38; 56b, 26.

⁵ See infra, p. 120.

⁶ So Duhm on the passage in *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament* (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1901), p. 376.

⁷ See Duhm, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Driver sees only symbolism here (*The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, pp. 326–27).

9. *Obligamentum magicum*.—At this point we merely mention this element; owing to its prime importance in our study, discussion of it will be postponed.

COMPARISON WITH *DEFIXIONES*

1. A common type of Greek and Latin *defixiones* consists of those directed against thieves.¹ Most of these for very obvious reasons do not name the thief, but refer to him simply as the one who abstracted the missing articles. But a number of them recite the names of the several culprits.² The commonest type of all, however, comprises those in which declared enemies, chiefly legal opponents, are assailed and accurately named.³ In a curse⁴ on a marble *stèle* found in Delos a certain Theagenes consigns to the wrath of the Dea Syria a woman named Agias (?) who had failed to return a sum of money entrusted to her keeping.⁵ Inasmuch as this has to do with a Syrian divinity and was found in a Greek island, it seems possible to regard it as a link between the type of Old Testament curses under discussion and the body of Greek *defixiones*. It certainly suggests a line of research as to a leading source of the Greek formulae. The recipes of the Magic Papyri prescribe magic methods of detecting and at the same time cursing thieves whose identity they assume to be unknown.⁶ All these features we have found distributed among the Old Testament curses analyzed.

2. Only a very small proportion of the extant *defixiones* contain the names of those who have composed them. This omission was plainly due to fear of the law and of counter-charms, should the authors' identity be revealed in any way.⁷ This small proportion

¹ See Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8(?), 11, 12, 42, 74, 75, 104, 106, 122, 193(?), 212; *idem*, (*Mélanges Chatelain*, pp. 545 ff., a new reading of *idem*, *DT*, 299).

² Nos. 3, 104, 106, 212; a part of what seems to be a name is legible in 42a.

³ See Aud., *DT*, ind., pp. 471–72; Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticarum*, IG III 3, *passim*; Zipfel, *Quatenus Ovidius in Ibide Callimachum aliosque fontes imprimis defixiones secutus sit* (Diss., Leipzig, 1910), pp. 10–11.

⁴ Hauvette-Besnault, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI (1882), 500–502, No. 24.

⁵ Aud., *DT*, pr. xxxii–iii, will not call this a *defixio* because it lacks the *obligamentum magicum*; nevertheless he admits its close kinship with *defixio* proper.

⁶ Wessely, "Neue Gr. Zaub.-pap.", *Denksch. d.k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*, XLII (1893), Pap. Anas., 77 ff.; 188 ff.; 304 ff.; Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 57.

⁷ See Aud., *DT*, pr. xlv–xlvii, xcii; Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Zipfel, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 1 p. 22, n. 1.

contains a few curses against thieves.¹ In these cases the authors deliberately ran all the threatened risks in order to make it perfectly clear to whom the stolen goods were to be restored. To these the Old Testament curse No. I is a very close parallel.² The tendency in most of the other curses to thrust the onus of authorship on God was probably due to some such fear of legal and magic vengeance as forced the suppression of the authors' names in *defixiones*. The fact that the Hebrews, in spite of their efforts to banish sorcery from their midst, actually believed in its powers to bring things to pass,³ sufficiently accounts for this phenomenon.

3. In maledictions against thieves one would naturally look for specific statements of losses; and this is what we find: e.g., *δηνάρια ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰμάτια*;⁴ *quisquis mihi imudauit inuolauerit minusue fecit eas* [res] *q(uae) i(nfra) s(criptae) s(unt)*, *tunicas VI* [. . . *pa*] *enula lintea II in[dus]ium* . . . ;⁵ *Silulanus anilum perdedidit, demediam partem donauit Nodenti*.⁶ Correspondingly concrete causes are regularly mentioned (or else implied in the phraseology) in *defixiones* against opponents at law: e.g., *adue[rsa]r[ii]* *quisquis aduersus il(l)am loqu(us est)*;⁷ *καταδῶ καὶ λόγους καὶ ἔργα τὰ Κέρκιδος καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν*⁸ Behind love-curses lies either the hostility of the wooed, or continued passive resistance to the suitor's entreaties, or efforts to alienate affections already fixed.⁹ The animosity cultivated among partisans at the races and in the arena was the concrete cause of all of a large group of tablets mainly from Rome¹⁰ and Africa.¹¹ Outside of these definite classes is a

¹ Aud., *DT*, 2, 3, 46, 106, 212; *idem*; *Mél. Chat.*, pp. 545 ff.

² Cf. the Arabian curse against thieves described by Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, p. 192.

³ Cf. Deut. 13:1-5; Karl Marti in *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament* on Zech. 5:1-4.

⁴ Aud., *Mél. Chat.*, pp. 545 ff.

⁵ Aud., *DT*, 122 = *CIL*, II, 462.

⁶ Aud., *DT*, 106 = *CIL*, VII, 140.

⁷ Aud., *DT*, 93 = *CIL*, III, 11882.

⁸ Aud., *DT*, 52; cf. Wünsch, *DTA*, *passim*.

⁹ Cf., e.g., Aud., *DT*, 5, 10, 68, 69, 191; von Premerstein, *Jhh. d. öst. arch. Inst. in Wien*, 1906, pp. 192 ff.

¹⁰ E.g., Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (see Aud., *DT*, 159-87).

¹¹ Aud., *DT*, 232-45, 272-95; *idem*, *Bull. Arch. du Com. des Trav. hist. et scient.*, 1906, pp. 378 ff., I and II.

number of tablets whose causes for a variety of reasons are obscure; nevertheless, our experience justifies us in assuming that the actual causes were sharply defined in the minds of the authors of the tablets.¹

4. The effects desired in the *defixiones* vary between the two extremes of utter extermination and temporary discomfort,² all alike involving the complete control of the victim by the person prompting the curse: e.g., *omnes per[d]es* (Aud., *DT*, 93a); *mal[e perdat mal]e exset*, [*mal]e disperd[at]* (Fox, *op. cit.*, Plotius 43–44); *aufer illae somnum usquedun ueniat at me et animo meo satisfaciat* (Aud., *DT*, 230a 2–3); *κατακαίνετε* (51, 2); *σπρέβλωσον* (241, 14); *ποιήσατε μιση[τόν]*³ (36, 4). A favorite punishment is to secure if possible the demolition of the victim's home, place of business, and other properties, e.g., *οίκια* (Wünsch, *DTA*, 59, 8; 69, 4); *οἶκος* (53, 1); *κτῆμα* (108a 1); *οὐσία* (89a, 8; 97, 28; 129); *ἄξει* (96, 17); *καπηλεῖον* or *καπηλεῖα* (70, 2; 71, 1; 70, 3; 85a, 3; 87a, 2 *bis*, 4, 8; 75a, 10); *ἐμπόριον* (75a, 11); *ἐργαστήριον* (68a, 2, 5, 7 *bis*, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 *bis*; *b*, 1, 2, 3 *bis*, 4 *bis*, 5 *bis*, 6, 7, 8 *bis*, 9 *bis*, 10, 11, 12 *bis*, 13 *bis*, 15; Aud., *DT*, 71, 2). It requires only a glance to see the kinship in spirit between this type of vengeance and the prediction that the curse in Zechariah's vision "shall roost in the midst of his [i.e., the thief's] house and consume it, with its beams and its stones." To the Semite the destruction of his home signified banishment from the community;⁴ it may have possessed the same meaning for the Athenian. In addition to meting out punishment the authors of *defixiones* against thieves have in most cases the very utilitarian purpose of Micah's mother (Judg. 17:2), that of recovering the stolen property.⁵

5. At first sight it seems difficult to discover any analogy between the unwritten curses of the injured mother and of Joash on the one hand, and, on the other, the department of *defixiones*, which in order strictly to merit the name must be *written* in the broadest sense of the term. The difficulty, however, is only superficial, for many leaden

¹ See Aud., *DT*, Ind., p. 473.

² Cf. Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 40, n. on 16–17.

³ See Aud., *DT*, Ind., pp. 474 ff.

⁴ Wellhausen, *Kl. Proph.*, on Zech. 5:4; *idem*, *R. Arab. Heid.*, pp. 192 ff.; Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 496 ff.; cf. Ovid, *Ib.*, 53 ff.

⁵ See pp. 112; 114.

tablets exhibit the principle sought for. The four hundred and thirty-six small laminae from Styra in Euboea (all included under Aud., *DT*, 80) bear only the names of victims; the same statement, slightly modified, may be made of Nos. 1-39 of Wünsch's Attic compilation;¹ the forty odd laminae found in a well at Rom, Département des Deux-Sèvres, France (Aud., *DT*, 109) are wholly without inscriptions but are in some cases pierced with nail-holes. This probably means that the names of the victims or of the deities commanded or the forms of vengeance desired, either severally or unitedly, were part of an oral formula that accompanied the consignment of the lead to the tomb or to the water.² If this be so, the spoken word was in *defixiones* endowed with powers equal to those of the written word, as in the broader field of general magic.³ The parallelism then stands out very distinctly. No less distinct is the relationship existing between the portrayal of Jerusalem on Ezekiel's tile (Ezek. 4:1) and the images of demons and victims occasionally sketched on defixional laminae beside the formulae.⁴ The image does not merely stand for the man; it is the man and whatever is done to the image is suffered by the man.⁵ Ezekiel's siege of the representation of Jerusalem is therefore not to be interpreted as a mere sham battle, but rather as a real conquest, in the event that the people failed to heed the prophet's warning to repent.

6. It matters but little on what material a *defixio* was inscribed. It is true that lead was generally chosen, and probably because most suitable for the purpose,⁶ but other metals and other materials of a

¹ Cf. Aud., *DT*, 210-CIL, X, 511.

² Cf. Zipfel, *op. cit.*, p. 17, on Lohmeyer, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX (1905), 165.

³ Aud., *DT*, pr. xlii (n. 6); xliii; Wünsch, *DTA*, pr. II; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. xlii; Sayce, *Religions of Babylonia and Egypt*, pp. 410-11; Fossey, *Magie Assyrienne*, p. 95: "Le mot est l'image sonore de la chose qu'il exprime, il en est l'équivalent exact, il est cette chose elle-même . . ."

⁴ E.g., Aud., *Bull. Arch.*, 1905, pp. cxxxii ff. I, where the formula covers the body of the sketch representing Archelaus, a charioteer; Olivieri, *St. Ital. di Fil. Cl.*, 1899, pp. 173 ff., II; Wünsch, "Die Laminae litteratae des Trierer Amphitheaters," *Bonn. Jhr.*, CXIX (1910), 1 ff., Nos. 18, 20.

⁵ ". . . The Egyptians . . . believed it was possible to transmit to the figure of any man, or woman, or animal, or living creature, the soul of the being which it represented, and its qualities and attributes" (Budge, *Egypt. Magic*, p. 65); cf. Fossey, *Mag. Ass.*, p. 85; the *locus classicus* is Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1911), I, 55 ff. The transubstantiation idea involved here is a postulate of all magic.

⁶ Aud., *DT*, pr. xlviii-xlix; Wünsch, *DTA*, pr. III; Wessely, *op. cit.*, Pap. Anas., p. 3108; idem, *Denkschr. d.k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXXVI (1888), Pap. Bibl. Nat., 2466; Zipfel, *op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 6; Hübner, *Ex.*, p. xlv.

totally different character were also employed; e.g., bronze (Aud., *DT*, 196; 212); gold (127; 262); tin (106); marble (122); *lapis specularis* (18-21); earthenware vessels (103; 136; 137; 200-207; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1902, coll. 113-114).¹ The use of a tile or scrolls in the Old Testament curses does not therefore differentiate their essential character from that of *defixiones* proper.

7. The magical significance of the unusually extensive dimensions of the curse-scroll seen by Zechariah (vs. 2) may be put under the heading of symbolism in the details of the material used. Under this heading we find certain *defixiones* in which the wish is expressed that the victim either wholly or in part may become like the lead, inert and lifeless.² The shooting of the arrows to insure victory over the Syrians naturally recalls the universal magic ritual of piercing an enemy by proxy, and in particular the use of the defixing nail that has given *defixiones* their name. When Seraiah overthrew Babylon by sinking the book he was employing a principle frequently invoked by the composer of curses, as I have shown at length elsewhere.³ Ezekiel subjugated Jerusalem in the same way that the magus by binding the cock⁴ and the cat⁵ rendered powerless the victims for which the animals stood.

8. If a *defixio* were prepared exactly as prescribed, the only possible hindrance to its success would be the chance that the victims or the law might learn of it. Secrecy was, therefore, the very essence of its efficacy.⁶ There was, as far as we know, only one type of exception to this rule, and in that case the cursers ran the risk of the discovery by placing their imprecations in the light of day near certain sacred precincts apparently in the hope that their enemies would thus be frightened into giving satisfaction for their knavery.⁷ Now it

¹ For a spell written on papyrus see Milne, *Arch. f. Pap.-forsch.*, V (1911), 393, No. 312.

² Wünsch, *DTA*, 15, 12-14; 97, 7-8, 21-23, 39-40; 105b, 1; 106b, 1.

³ See p. 115, n. 3.

⁴ Aud., *DT*, 241, 15-17: . . . ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἀλέκτωρ καταβέβηται . . . οὕτως καταθήσεται[ε] τὸν δαίνα; cf. 222.

⁵ *Quomodo hic catellus nemin[i] nocuit sic . . . nec illi hanc litem uincere possint* (Aud., *DT*, 111, 4-6).

⁶ Aud., *DT*, pr. xlv (see also n. 3); Wünsch, *DTA*, pr. lv; Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 34, n.

⁷ Aud., *DT*, 1-13, 106, 122, 212 (on which see note, p. 284); Hauvette-Besnault, *loc. cit.*; Zingerle, *Jhh. d. Ost. arch. Inst. in Wien*, VIII (1905), 143 ff.; Zipfel, *op. cit.*, p. 8, and n.

happens that virtually all of these imprecations were directed against thieves (see note 1, p. 116 *supra*). In respect to this and to their element of publicity they are very like the Old Testament curses we have designated I, II, and III, and that inscribed on the Delian stele (see note 4, p. 116 *supra*).

9. The discussion of the question of the presence or absence of an *obligamentum magicum* in these biblical curses has purposely been left to the last. This magic bond may be said to be present when the author by magic act, symbol, or word, or by the implication of any or all of these, forcibly binds a god or a human being to his will and control. This is, doubtless, the essential and distinctive feature of *defixio*.¹ But one must be a latitudinarian in testing for its presence, for magic is too varied to be measured by the letter of a single formula. For example, the Salernitan tablet (Aud., *DT*, 210) on its face obligates no specific deity nor man, yet none will deny that it logically possesses the magic bond. Neither the numerous Styrian tablets (under Aud., *DT*, 80), nor the similar group from Attica (Wünsch, *DTA*, 1-39), nor the French group (Aud., *DT*, 109) detail more than the victims' names, if they are inscribed at all; nevertheless, we understand clearly that the victims were placed under a magic bond in spite of our ignorance as to the process. The bond exists or does not exist in the individual laminae jointly according to the point of view of the respective authors and of the traditions of the art; in short, it is wholly a subjective matter. To determine its existence in this or that case, one has first of all to ascertain the mental processes with which it is uttered and those with which it is received.

In bringing this test to bear on our group of Old Testament curses we find at the outset that there is no *obligamentum magicum* apparent in the curse of Micah's mother (I). Nevertheless, Micah's prompt confession leads one to suspect that he felt himself to be under some compelling bond. The inference is natural that his mother deliberately intended this to be the case. It seems probable, then, that a magic bond was actually understood here. The symbolic rites accompanying the curses (IV, V, VI) recorded in Jeremiah, Ezekiel and II Kings, subjected the victims concerned to the magic

¹ Aud., *DT*, pr. xxxii.

bond of an inexorable analogy; this, too, in the last analysis, is simply a point of view.¹ Further, these three curses and those (II, III) in Malachi and Zechariah respectively have in common the feature that they were currently regarded as the utterances of God, transmitted either directly or through His appointed agents. By His very nature God was bound to make good His word. This thought was ingrained into the very being of the Hebrews. Their present power and future hope lay in the fulfilment of the Divine promises. Now if at this juncture we recall our previous observation that the religion of the common people of ancient Israel was infused with magical elements to a preponderating extent (p. 111, note 7), it will not seem to us unlikely that the *popular conception* of the promises of God in these curses savored of magic. In other words the rank and file may have viewed God as the Great Magician who on occasion cast an irrevocable bond upon Himself. From this plebeian point of view this bond was substantially an *obligamentum magicum*. But it may have been such even from a still higher point of view. If the acknowledged religious leaders of Israel such as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Elisha, incorporated into their official acts certain features of sympathetic magic, it is reasonable to suspect that their theological conceptions, though undoubtedly on a generally higher plane, were nevertheless vitiated to a certain degree by unavoidable infusions of popular belief. In brief, it seems improbable that the prophets could wholly avoid the plebeian point of view of these God-uttered curses. In the last analysis this *obligamentum magicum* is only superficially to be differentiated from that of the *defixiones*, for in the one case God is conceived of as binding Himself and in the other a man assumes divine powers and binds both the gods and his fellow-men. The latter type of binding is coarser, more materialistic, more primitive, and contains a smaller element of religion than the former.² It differs also in being more highly specialized and more consistently developed along purely magical lines. But here we must come to a halt in disputed territory, for no one has yet finally staked out the dividing line between magic and religion.

¹ "Men took the order of their ideas for the order of nature, and hence imagined that the control which they have, or seem to have, over their thoughts, permitted them to exercise a corresponding control over things" (Frazer, *op. cit.* [1911], I, 420).

² Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff.

The foregoing discussion has shown clearly that these six Old Testament curses as a group contain all the principal elements of *defixiones*. Examining them singly we find that only the curse of Jeremiah (or better, of Seraiah) conforms to the type in its entirety, while all the others possess these elements in varying proportions. It is notable that a virtual *obligamentum magicum* seems to be common to the group. Most of these curses we observe to have been written; and a very important observation it is as regards the chronology of *defixiones*. For our purposes we need to consider only the oldest instances. The first eight chapters of Zechariah, which include the quoted curse, are generally believed to have been composed in the latter part of the sixth century B.C.; George Adam Smith narrows the date down to the period 520–516.¹ That portion of the prophecy of Jeremiah containing the curse against Babylon is almost certainly post-exilic and therefore cannot be older than 586 B.C., the year of the fall of Judah.² The symbolic overthrow of Jerusalem by Ezekiel dates after 592.³ It is therefore possible to state that the Hebrews were familiar with the written curse, of near kin to *defixio*, as early as the first part of the sixth century B.C. As such customs do not spring up in a night, one can safely conclude that they were in vogue, probably in cruder form, for several centuries previously. The basis of the story of the curse of Micah by his mother is antecedent to the division of the kingdom, 940 B.C., the approximate date of composition of this and other stories of the great Judges.⁴ The spoken curse was therefore definitely known to the Hebrews as early as the tenth century B.C. and probably long before. The earliest Greek *defixiones* extant are Wunsch, *DTA*, 26, and Aud., *DT*, 45 and 80, all of which are assigned to the fifth century and are of the simplest character, consisting of but little more than lists of victims. This simplicity leads to the inference that they represent the Greek *defixio* in its more primitive stages.⁵ We can only surmise that they took their meaning from the rites, unknown to us, that probably

¹ *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, p. 449.

² E. G. Hirsch in the *Jewish Enc.*, VII, 96, 105.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 313 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 381.

⁵ Zippel, *op. cit.*, p. 14 and n. 1.

accompanied them. If such symbolic rites existed in fact, their resemblance to the old Jewish curses is all the more striking. But that alone does not warrant the statement that the Greek curses are a development of the Hebrew. Nevertheless it may be taken as indicating the source of a pronounced shaping influence on the Greek *defixio*. This is apparently confirmed by the stele from Delos already referred to and of undoubted Semitic origin.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST¹

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED

WITH REMARKS ON WESTERN ASIA

BY DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL

No history has yet gathered together and presented the vast and complicated interaction of oriental and Mediterranean civilizations as they commingled in the Mediterranean from the days of early Crete, 3000 B.C., down through the dissemination of Christianity and the expansion of Islam till the Moslems threatened to girdle the Mediterranean; nor does any book available in English present such a survey, even for the earlier period alone, from the beginnings down to the supremacy of the Greeks, as Hall does; that is to say, a survey of the history of man in and around the Mediterranean, from the days when the Stone Age men of the Northern Mediterranean received the first metals from the Nile Valley, down through thousands of years of similar epoch-making contributions from the Orient to the West, millennia of *peaceable* interfusion of the culture of both regions, until a thousand years of experience in imperial government gave to the East, in the hands of Persia, an organization such that it could undertake the *forcible* conquest of these western lands and civilizations over which the East had already gained a supremacy till then founded on the arts of peace. Such a book is an ambitious project, an imposing program, the execution of which involves a more laborious apprenticeship in the use of archaeological tools and philological materials than is demanded in any other historical field, while requiring at the same time the most penetrating analysis and incisive criticism. It may be stated at the beginning that notwithstanding the great difficulty of the task, the author has put together a very valuable survey of the great civilizations in which the Mediterranean world was so deeply rooted. No one can take up the volume without a sense of great indebtedness

¹ *The Ancient History of the Near East: from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis.* By H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xxiii + 602.

for the long and devoted labor involved in its production. I have expressed in another journal a more general appreciation of the work¹ and it may be well in these pages to enter upon more details in its discussion than were possible elsewhere.

It is impossible to make this review even a condensed summary of the book; a critique of some of the main contentions and some suggested corrections are all that can be attempted. The author's position that the civilization of the Nile Valley was decidedly superior to that of the other eastern peoples of the time (e.g., p. 291) is one now adopted by the leading historians of the ancient world; and he therefore devotes more space to that land than to any other of the oriental countries. His chronology of the earliest Mediterranean age is, as in other modern works, based on Egyptian data. The system is not always self-consistent. The Fourth Dynasty in one place (p. 10) is put at 3500 B.C., although the beginning of the dynasties is set at 3600 B.C., notwithstanding the fact that the first three dynasties lasted, on the author's statement, over four hundred years. Again, we find the first king of the Third Dynasty, which "lasted less than a century" (p. 115), placed "two or three centuries before" the Fourth Dynasty (p. 122). The author's system of chronology is seriously affected by his date for the introduction of the calendar, viz., 2781 B.C., seeming to disregard the fact that the Pyramid Texts, which are as a whole vastly older than this date, already contain references to the five intercalary days of the calendar.² In Babylonian chronology Kugler's recent researches on the date of the First Dynasty appeared too late for the author to employ them. The author's date for the important reign of Hammurabi, which he takes from King, viz., about 1950-1900 (p. 28), must therefore be pushed back nearly one hundred seventy-five years; that is, to 2123-2081.

The relations of Asia and Egypt form, of course, one of the author's most important rubrics. He seems to labor slightly under the influence of the old extravagantly early dates for Babylonian civilization. He conjectures that "the Babylonians may well have

¹ *American Historical Review*, April, 1914.

² I am unable to understand why, in the author's table of the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 148), so important for fixing of Aegean dates, the length of Sesostri II's reign is left uncertain. The length of this reign, like all the others of the dynasty, has long since been firmly established (cf. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XLI, 38 ff.).

passed into the age of metal at an earlier period than did the Egyptians" (p. 30), and states that "the Sumerians apparently knew the use of copper at the beginning of their occupation of Babylonia" (p. 176). But in view of the fact that we have no monuments from the beginning of the Sumerian occupation and that we do not know when it occurred, there appears to be no basis for such a statement. Moreover, the earliest metal in Babylonia is a thousand years later than the earliest metal discovered in Egypt, and the conclusion that the origin of metallurgy belongs in the Nile Valley seems to be incontrovertible. Other archaeological evidence in this connection is subject to question. The author says that the "Syrian winged sphinx" was introduced into Egypt from Asia in Hyksos times (p. 219), but the winged quadruped which is ancestor of both the winged sphinx and the gryphon already occurs on predynastic palettes of Egypt at least as old as the thirty-fifth century B.C. (cf. Capart, *Débuts de l'art*, fig. 156). This *Misch-wesen* certainly passed from Egypt to Asia. Again, the author states that "the Egyptians called the seal by the Semitic name of *khetm*" (p. 89); but the statement that *khetm* is a Semitic word is a pure assumption, for it has long since been recognized that *khetm* as found in Hebrew is a loan word drawn from Egypt, and the Hebrew form, *khôthâm*, "seal ring," displays an un-Semitic vocalization.¹ Neither are the root-consonants Semitic. The important fact follows then that the Semitic-Asiatics borrowed their word for "seal" from Egypt. We find the author also stating, without qualification, that the Egyptian Sun-god bore a Semitic name, and that he was imported from Asia into Egypt (p. 85). The actual situation is that we have in Egypt as the High God a Sun-god on prehistoric monuments a thousand years earlier than any document revealing a Sun-god in Asia, a state of affairs which was a priori to be expected in view of the fact that Egypt is a country enjoying almost cloudless skies the year round. Even if the daring etymology which sees the Hebrew 'or, "light," in *Re'*, the Egyptian Sun-god's name,² were possible, it would reverse the

¹ *Khôthâm* is from *khâthâm*, displaying the vowels: long *a*, short *a*, a combination of vowels which is not Semitic, as Barth long ago observed.

² The author equates the Egyptian "r'a" (*sic!*), the Sun-god's name, with "the Semitic 'or'" (*sic!*). Such an equation is exceedingly hazardous on any basis, but the alleged Semitic 'or (even when properly spelled with aleph, not ayin) is never used as a god's name.

author's conclusion; for the Egyptian word *Re'* is two thousand years older than the earliest occurrence of the Hebrew *'ôr*. Similarly it is perfectly clear that the Solar cult was so powerful in Egypt as to contribute to Asia the well-known winged sun-disk adopted by the Assyrians as the symbol of their national god, and then also taken over by the Persians. The only *demonstrable* borrowing is thus against the author's position.

We should like to see another interpretation of the Egyptian word which the author explains as designating "Arabs" in the time of Thutmose III (fifteenth century B.C., p. 251). The Arabs are first mentioned by name as a particular tribe of nomads under the Assyrian Shalmaneser II in the ninth century B.C.

A very common mythological designation of the lands east of Egypt, employed by the Pharaohs, is "God's Land." Our author places the territory indicated by this name ("Ta-neter") as "south of Egypt," especially in the region of the Somali coast (p. 91). This region certainly belonged to "God's Land"; but the inscriptions over and over again apply the term also to Asia, Palestine, and Northern Syria, and more especially North Syria.¹

In a historical review of a long series of civilizations it is difficult not to fall into a mechanical presentation of external events, as contrasted with a survey of processes. In order to avoid this pitfall such a review demands powerful analysis and a penetrating discernment of characteristics. Our author denies the unique individuality of Amenhotep IV, the earliest monotheist in history (p. 298), and finds no difficulty in discovering his like in mere organizers, like Hammurabi or Thutmose III. This can only be due to disregard of the facts, e.g., Hall regards it as questionable whether Osiris "was or was not actually proscribed" (p. 303) by this revolutionary monotheist. Now *every cemetery in Egypt except one is a precinct sacred to Osiris*. The people would not dream of omitting his name and his insignia in every nook and cranny of the tombs; but our monotheist's Amarna cemetery from end to end nowhere discloses either the name or the symbol of Osiris, whom the people buried there were obliged to abandon. This is evidence sufficiently

¹ See my *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 451, 773, 820, 888; III, pp. 116, 434, showing that the term is a vague indication of the East, like our *Levant*.

conclusive both to settle the case as regards Osiris as well as the unique character of Amenhotep IV. Perhaps these criticisms find their explanation in the fact that the author is so interested in the archaeological materials in a field where they are so plentiful and important, that the book sometimes, and in places, unavoidably becomes an archaeological commentary, a catalogue of *material* documents. The sources, written and unwritten, seem not always to have fused in his mind, to emerge in a symmetrical presentation of the human career revealed in the documents, irrespective of their form. Hence, in the Twelfth Dynasty we find no reference to the epoch-making *literary* development (p. 168), the earliest known chapter in real literary history.

A development in matters archaeological is a more tangible thing than one discernible only in social processes. Hence, as we turn to Asia, we find a full archaeological chronicle, and the question arises whether the social processes which so largely make up the career of the Hebrews should not have been outlined. Some other questions arise. We find ourselves wondering what kind of a Hebrew scribe it was who, somewhere around 1400 or 1500 B.C., before the days of the Amarna Letters and before there was a Hebrew nation, wrote down, as the author alleges (p. 195), the folk-tale of Abraham's adventure, the remarkable rescue of Lot, preserved in Gen., chap. 14. Surely the Hebrews of this age were illiterate, like all nomads, and as even the Greeks were for many centuries after their settlement of Greece. Old preconceptions seem to crop out here, as in the supposition that Jerusalem was the capital of Canaan in the fourteenth century B.C. (p. 356), or that the Hebrews were "a settled nation" in the thirteenth century B.C. (pp. 403, 404, 405, 415), a statement for which the sources furnish no basis. In a book which has employed historical analogy as well as this book has done, one would like to see some reference to the fact that the Hebrew migration was but one in a long series of movements of the nomadic tribes of Western Asia from the grass-lands to the towns, but this involves an interpretation of social phenomena with which, as already mentioned, the book so little deals. The author's dating of the Hebrew Exodus before the beginning of the Egyptian Empire places the whole period of the Judges—indeed, the whole pre-monarchical age of

Hebrew history—in the age of Egypt's sovereignty in Palestine, a sovereignty to which the Hebrew traditions preserved in the Old Testament make not the slightest reference. This would seem to make such a date for the Exodus impossible.

The author's presentation of the civilization of Babylonia is less archaeological than the other portions of his volume, and is a useful summary of recent results based chiefly, in its earlier portions, on King's *Sumer and Akkad*, although it displays commendable independence in disputed matters.

¹ [In discussing Sumerian origins, Mr. Hall rejects the theory of Professor G. Elliot Smith, who sees in the Sumerians the eastern wing of the Mediterranean brunet race, and offers instead, with much reserve, the theory that they were of Indian origin and developed their culture in the east, "perhaps the Indus valley," before coming into Babylonia. Whether this theory will meet with approval remains to be seen. However, it seems that the author lays too much stress upon the "strongly developed nose" of the Sumerians, as seen upon the early monuments, for this is due to the limitations of the primitive sculptor rather than indicative of a racial characteristic. Furthermore, the assertion, frequently seen in print today, that "the Sumerian culture springs into our view ready-made," needs to be made with much more reserve than is usually the case. The excavations in Babylonia have not been extensive or thorough enough to make any definite assertion about the beginnings of the Babylonian culture possible (see Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, I, 2, § 366). The archaeological remains found in the lowest strata at Telloh and Nippur, if they are of Sumerian origin (and nothing points to the contrary), certainly do not give one the impression of any "higher culture" of the Sumerians. The view that the Semites lived in the Euphrates Valley as early as, perhaps earlier than, the Sumerians, and that the latter adopted many of the Semitic deities, should not be spoken of as having been "adumbrated" by Professor Meyer, for this was definitely stated and backed by archaeological evidence by that scholar, and was, in fact, an epoch-making contribution to the understanding of early Babylonian history. There seems to be little evidence which can be adduced for the assertion

¹ The following to the end of the bracket is contributed by D. D. Luckenbill.

(not met with here for the first time) that there was "an ancient unified Sumerian kingdom with its capital at Nippur" (p. 179). That it was an important religious center is evident, but none of the kings' lists which have come down to us indicate that Nippur ever was a political center. The discussion of these and similar points might well have been relegated to the footnotes, for they detract from, rather than add to, the excellent portrayal of the old Sumerian and the First Dynasty civilizations.¹

The presence of an Indo-European element in Asia Minor in the middle of the second millennium B.C. has been demonstrated beyond a doubt by the Boghaz Keui documents, but the statement that "there is little doubt that the Kassites were Indo-Europeans and spoke an Aryan tongue" (p. 201) will hardly be accepted by those who have made a careful study of the thousands of Kassite personal names which we now have collected in a volume by Professor Clay (*Personal Names of the Kassite Period*). Needless to say, the chronology and succession of the Kassite kings given on pp. 262 f. are largely conjectural. In the discussion of early Assyrian history the new texts from Ashur might have been used with profit. One also regrets that so little use seems to have been made of Weber's notes to Knudtzon's edition of the Amarna Letters which have added materially to our understanding of this period of history, besides having removed so many smudges from the blackened characters of the Syrian princes.

In spite of the many points on which one finds himself disagreeing with the author,² one feels safe in asserting that next to,

¹ The names of the heroes of the Gilgamesh Epic should be read Ut-napishtim (in view of the writing U-ta-na-ish-tim) instead of Šit-napishtim; and Engidu instead of Ea-bani (see Grossmann and Ungnad, *Das Gilgamesh Epos*). Nimrod (p. 178) was a Libyan hero, as Erman pointed out years ago (Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altent.*, I, 2, § 361). On p. 186 read Anu-banini of Lulubu and Lasirab of Gutl instead of Anubanini of Gutl and Lasirab of Lulubu; read E-ulmash instead of E-ulbar. Why Gudea should have gone to the Dead Sea region (p. 189) for asphalt when he might have found it in much greater abundance nearer home is difficult to see (Meyer, *op. cit.*, §§ 411, 441). Reasons for reviving the old theory that Sin-iddinam was "ex-king of Larsam" (p. 193) should be given. There is decided difference of opinion as to Gen., chap. 14. One may say that the majority of Old Testament scholars hold it to be one of the latest, rather than "one of the oldest parts of the Book of Genesis" (p. 194, note).

² To mention a few: The author's discussion of the bondage in Egypt and the Exodus (pp. 403 f.). There is room for much difference of opinion as to the meaning of Levi (pp. 408, 423, note). Is it correct to speak of Samuel as a monotheist (p. 424)? To speak of "a Babylonian scribe" of David's without comment is dogmatic. Was David's kingdom really as extensive as the stories of the Old Testament would have us believe (p. 430)? What does the author mean by "Baalzebel or Jezebel" (p. 450)? The

perhaps before, the discussion of the Cretan civilization, that of the history of Syria and Palestine deserves the highest praise. For freshness and vigor, many of the pages of the sections on the Westland surpass anything that has been written on the subject in recent years.—D. D. LUCKENBILL.]

This is the first book in English which places the Assyrians in their proper perspective. The noble art of the Ninevites, as displayed in relief sculpture, receives due justice, but we should have been glad to see recognized the fact that in spite of obvious limitations, the Assyrian was the first really great civilization in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, as contrasted with the more limited culture of the merchandizing Babylonians. The treatment of Assyria, however, still suffers somewhat from the old preconception that all it contributed was derived from Babylonia.

The earlier history of the East occupies so large a portion of the book that the discussion of the Persians is less full than that of other oriental peoples. It is in the correlation of the oriental civilizations with that of the Aegean that the particular value of our author's volume lies. His acceptance of Cretan civilization as pre-Indo-Germanic, and of the Mediterranean population who created it, as to a large extent the physical ancestry of the historic Greeks—an ancestry which had meantime absorbed the Greek language, represents an undoubtedly sound position on the basis of the best evidence now available. The East has occupied so much of his space that he is obliged to make his study of early Greece, as he himself states, largely a consideration of external events, and he has therefore been unable to take up the inner development of Greek life in its earlier stages.

The number of difficult and undecided questions in a field like this is of course legion, and it is to be regretted that uncertainty should be introduced where there need be none and where the data are decisive.¹

inscription of Panammu, son of QRL, king of Ya'di (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 159 f.), is certainly evidence of a "Syrian state named 'Judah'" (we should say Ya'di) (p. 463).

¹ An illustration may be found on p. 234, where the author is dealing with the Asiatic revolt against Thutmose III, which extended from the Upper Euphrates to Southern Palestine. The Egyptian term for the Upper Euphrates region used here is "the marshes of the earth," which Hall says means "the marshes of the land," that is, the land of Egypt;

Few, if any, historical works in English issued in recent years involve the treatment of a mass of material so vast, so varied, and so widely scattered. It is therefore in no spirit of carping criticism, and with full appreciation of the innumerable difficulties and opportunities for going astray that the following corrections are noted. The attribution of the Greek Sphinx of Gizeh to the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 164), a hypothesis first put forward by Borchardt, to whom the author for some reason makes no reference, is a supposition long since discredited. Archaeological data have shown clearly that the Sphinx is a work of the same age which brought forth the Gizeh Pyramids behind it, of which it was the guardian. There can be no question but that it belongs to the Fourth Dynasty, and Borchardt, himself *the author of the theory of later date, has abandoned it*. The so-called "Temple of the Sphinx," the great granite building alongside it, which the author likewise attributes to the Twelfth Dynasty (p. 164), is also a work of the Fourth Dynasty, being the monumental gateway of the vast ramp, or causeway, leading up to the second Pyramid of Gizeh. Again, the magnificent temple of Amenhotep III, which once stood behind the famous "Memnon Colossi," was not destroyed by Ramses II to build his own Ramesseum (pp. 296, 317) but by Ramses' son, Merneptah (Petrie, *Six Temples*, pp. 9, 11). In the same connection it is stated that Strabo called Ramses II's temple the Memnonium "on account of its nearness to the great statues of Amenhotep III, who had long been identified with the Homeric Memnon, owing to a fancied resemblance between his name Men-ma-Ra and that of the Ethiopian hero" (p. 317). Men-ma-Ra, the name of Seti I, has been momentarily confused with Neb-ma-Ra, the name of Amenhotep III, from which it is impossible to derive "Memnon." The old supposition of Lepsius that the Egyptian word *mnw*, meaning "monument," is the source

that is, the marshes of the eastern Delta. All he offers in proof of this interpretation is the words, "this does not mean the country 'from Northwestern Judaea to beyond the Euphrates.'" Had the form of the note been something like this: "A study of the passages in which this term occurs shows," etc., it would be very welcome, for it is by such continued study and restudy of geographical terms that their full meaning may come out, and such further study, correcting an earlier scholar's results, is always to be welcomed. An examination of the fairly large group of passages in which the above geographical terms occur shows that no such study underlies the author's note and the interpretation offered represents merely a momentary *Einfall*, which a study of the term would have made impossible.

of the Greek identification of these colossi of Amenhotep III with Memnon is still the best conjecture available. It is a further misunderstanding which would represent the Egyptians as transporting stone for the marking of their northern *limes* in Asia, or their southern in Ethiopia, from the quarries near Cairo (p. 254). Amenhotep II's architect in charge of the quarry, in an inscription on the quarry wall, merely boasts, as a former achievement, of having been intrusted with the execution of the *limes* landmarks at the northern and southern extremities of the empire, but he makes no statement that he took the stone for these landmarks from the Egyptian quarries, which would have been an extraordinary occurrence indeed.

The earliest appearance of bronze as an alloy harder than copper is a very important question. Our author states that bronze was unknown in Egypt until the Middle Kingdom (p. 33), whereas, if we are to trust the examination of Mosso (*Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*, pp. 56, 57), the Pepi statues of the Sixth Dynasty contained over 6½ per cent of tin, and Petrie has also found bronze in the Old Kingdom. Presumably the author means that bronze was not in common use until the Middle Kingdom, which is of course a fact. The magnificent Soleb lions now in the British Museum, which were so much admired by Ruskin, have been a fruitful source of misunderstanding in the hands of earlier writers; the author is under a misapprehension in his statement that I have ascribed the ancient removal of these statues to King "Amenisru" (p. 274). The passage in my *Ancient Records* (II, 363, note *d*) leaves the question of the king's name open and merely calls him "the Ethiopian." In discussing the question of Cretan palace decoration, more particularly wall-painting, the author contrasts such Cretan paintings with those of Egypt by emphasizing the insertion of numerous inscriptions by the Egyptian artist (p. 51). This of course applies not to Egyptian *palaces* but to Egyptian *temples*, and the sensitive, probably mutual, interchange of influence between the wall-painting of the Cretan and Egyptian palaces is evident. At the opening of the Old Kingdom in Egypt it is of some importance to note that the tomb chamber of Khasekhemui at Abydos is not of "granite" (p. 113) but of limestone. The stonecutters of this early age were not yet ready for granite masonry, though they did lay a granite pavement. The

embossed leather of the empire displays one of the most beautiful techniques of the Egyptian craftsman, but the chariot of Thutmose IV is not of "embossed leather" (p. 294) but of incised stucco. It would be well to introduce as soon as possible Loret's demonstration that the royal bird of the Pharaohs was the falcon, and not the "hawk," which is employed by the author (pp. 93, 99, *et passim*). The usurper, Harmhab, as I and others have incorrectly supposed and the author still affirms (p. 311), did not marry Mutnezzet, a princess of the legitimate line. This misapprehension has been corrected by Sethe (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XLIV, 35-36). The Ethiopian capital of the earliest monotheist, Ikhnaton, is inadvertently placed at Napata (p. 275). This lost city, identified by the University of Chicago Expedition, was at Sesebi, at the Third Cataract, whereas Napata is at the Fourth. There seems to be a similar confusion in regard to Karoy, the southern frontier of the Egyptian empire, which was at the Fourth, not the Third, Cataract (p. 270). For the author's assertion that this region was conquered early in the Eighteenth Dynasty by Amenhotep I (p. 271) there is no evidence. The southernmost inscription of Amenhotep I was found by the University of Chicago Expedition in the Third Cataract region. It was Amenhotep's successor, Thutmose I, who conquered the Sudan and absorbed the Dongola Province. The Punt expedition of Hatshepsut cannot be dated in the year nine (p. 298), but had already returned by that year.*

* Some translations of less importance demand notice: The Pharaonic title "Golden Horus" (p. 93) is a late misunderstanding by the Egyptians themselves. We know now that, as shown in a late Greek translation, it means "Horus victorious over Set." The author's statement (p. 332) that Set and Sutekh are two different gods identified is somewhat misleading. The most recent evidence has shown clearly that they are not two gods, but one, and that the name "Set" is but a mutilation of that which we call "Sutekh." The name of the great monotheist Amenhotep IV's (Ikhnaton's) capital "Akhetaton," so familiar to Orientalists under its modern name, Tell-el-Amarna, does not mean "Glory of the Disk" (p. 301), which is a confusion with the *king's* name, but "horizon of the disk." In the archaic inscription on the magnificent Philadelphia alabaster jar of Besh, the date: "Year of smiting the northern enemy" should read "Year of smiting *and fighting* the northern enemy" (p. 112). In making new translations for historical use, as the author states he has done in some cases in his volume,

The author's style is forcible and interesting. His extraordinary fondness for the unusual word "apogee" is very noticeable; it even occurs twice in one sentence. The thirty-three plates of illustrations are excellent and well chosen. It is inevitable, as we have said before, in a work covering so large an area of history and so vast an array of sources, written and unwritten, that opportunities for difference of opinion should be very frequent and that numerous

it is important to use *all* the ancient versions as a basis. The text of the great *limes* inscription of Sesostriis III in Berlin is corrupt in places; the correction of these from the duplicate discovered by Steindorff and now in Leipzig would have avoided some errors in the rendering (p. 162). The place where the Berlin copy was erected, now called "Semneh," has no connection with an ancient Egyptian "Samnin." This alleged ancient Egyptian "Samnin" (p. 161) does not exist, but is an old misreading of Maspero's perpetuated in his *History* (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 485, n. 2). The inscription cited by Maspero as containing it is misread (see my *Ancient Records*, I, § 752). The unique character of the reign of the monotheist, Amenhotep IV, would, I think, have been much more evident to the author if his translations had included the new stela of Tutenkhaton, which makes it perfectly clear how completely the monotheist swept away the old gods (see my *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 344, 345). Further use of Knudtson's new *Amarna Letters* would also alter some important passages (p. 245).

In matters more technically philological, the reading of the Egyptian word for "foreign countries, high-lands" is not *khaskheti* (pp. 107, 157, 212 *bis*), but *h'st*; or, using our author's vocalization, *hasel*. The title of the Hittite king in the treaty of peace between Ramses II and the Hittites is not *p-sar-'o n Kheta* (p. 364) but *p-wer-'o n Kheta*. A *sar* is an Egyptian official, and the title is not applied to foreigners. *Apel-esut*, that is, Karnak, has nothing to do with *Apel-resit* (Luxor) (p. 278), as the two Egyptian words thus transliterated are always written differently in hieroglyphic and are two totally different words, as has been recently shown. The rendering "Two River-Land" (p. 229) for *Naharin* is without basis as far as the "two" is concerned (for *Naharin* is a *plural* form) and is of course due to the author's recollection of the Hebrew form *Aram-Naharaim*, but it is doubtful whether this Hebrew term contains a dual. The "blacksmiths," *Mesniu* (p. 92), should have the consonants *msntyrw*. The Egyptian word commonly rendered "troglodytes," which the author twice reads "Anu" (pp. 89, 92), should be read only *Antiu* (*yntyw*), a reading which he also recognizes (p. 95). The rendering of this word as "troglodytes" is due solely to the fact that the people it designates are found commonly in regions

pitfalls of a most deceptive character should beset the way. If much of this review is devoted to such inevitable differences and corrections, I wish nevertheless again to express my appreciation of the devoted industry which the author has brought to his task and to emphasize my confidence in the usefulness of the valuable survey of man's early career which he has put together.

where Strabo places troglodytes, and is not based upon an impossible etymology connecting it with the word *ant* (*ynt*), "valley." The explanation of the epithet of Anubis in Egyptian, *ymy-wt* (*Am-U^ot*), which the author gives as "He who is in the Oasis" (p. 101), remains without demonstration and without support in the inscriptions. The corruption *ymy-wtf* (*am-u^ot-f*) assumed by the author does not exist, but arises from his confusing it with *tp-dwf* meaning "on his mountain," a frequent epithet of Anubia.

We may add here some misprints, or clerical errors, which are not numerous in the Book: for "Nekebit" (p. 112), read "Nekhebit"; for "XI" (148 *bis*), read "XII"; for "offices" (p. 247), read "officers"; for "Rameses II (Menophres)" (p. 316), read "Rameses I"; for "Jenson" (p. 329), read "Jensen"; for "Rameses XII" (p. 390), read "Rameses XI"; for "come" (p. 557), read "came"; for "builder" (p. 136), read "building"; delete "on" (p. 95, last line).

Book Notices

HELPS FOR THE ELEMENTARY STUDY OF ARABIC

The difficulty of learning to read ordinary Arabic prose is sometimes exaggerated, but it is certainly true that the beginner needs all the help he can get. There is no down-hill road to proficiency, where the goal may be reached without conscious effort; on the other hand, there is a way whose ascent is gradual and in which unnecessary obstacles are removed. Few there be that find it. No one could find it, it is safe to say, without an experienced teacher, and the expert himself is sometimes put to straits. Textbooks really suited to the needs of beginners whose mother-tongue is English are at present hard to obtain. The English version of Socin (third edition, translated by Kennedy, 1895) did very well as an elementary grammar, but is now out of print and unobtainable, after holding the field for fifteen years without any noteworthy rival. For elementary reading books we have been not quite so well off. Brünnow's *Chrestomathy* was probably the most useful thing of the kind, so long as it remained in the market, for it was adapted to Socin's *Grammar*, the Arabic-English vocabulary was generally adequate, and the texts chosen were for the most part not too difficult, though somewhat monotonous and not sufficiently graded as regards difficulty. For several years past, however, this *Chrestomathy*, like the accompanying *Grammar*, has been out of print and hard to find. The new edition, by Fischer of Leipzig, is only just now completed.

Under these circumstances, the appearance of a new English series of elementary Arabic textbooks is a matter of considerable importance.¹ The series is well planned, with its grammar, three reading books, and a manual of prose composition, and the separate volumes are of very convenient size and form. The work of the editors of the series is based to a considerable extent on that of the great Cambridge scholar, Wright, for the *Grammar* is an abridgment of his two-volume treatise, and the most of the material in the *First* and *Third Reading Books* is taken from his unfinished *Arabic Reading Book*, published in 1870.

The *Grammar*, which might be called the backbone of the series, contains about 220 pages, including more than 20 pages of paradigms. There is no index, but a very full table of contents. As the editor has said, quoting

¹ The "Thornton Arabic Series" including the following: 1. *ELEMENTARY ARABIC GRAMMAR*, by F. D. Thornton; 1911. 2. *FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD ARABIC READING BOOKS*, edited by H. R. Nicholson; 1911, 1912, 1912. 3. *ARABIC PROSE COMPOSITION*, compiled by T. H. Weir; 1912. The series published by The Cambridge University Press, England; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Robertson Smith, the principal difficulty of making a short introductory grammar is the twofold one of knowing what to put in and what to leave out. The editor of this book, Mr. Thornton, was in many ways remarkably well fitted for his task both by taste and by training. In answering the question, what to include in the elementary treatise, he has shown excellent judgment, and the task is performed with much skill. It is a difficult matter to cut down a work like Wright's into a beginners' book, without sacrificing either proportion or clearness. In the matter of leaving out, however, it may be questioned whether the process should not have been carried a little farther. It seems to the present reviewer that it would have been better to omit the many technical terms of the Arab grammarians, as adding unnecessarily to the load which the student must carry. There can be no question that the thorough student of Arabic philology needs to learn, sooner or later, the native grammatical terms; it may certainly be doubted, however, whether the ordinary student of the language should ever be confronted with them, and to the beginner they bring much more hindrance than help. Among Mr. Thornton's own contributions to the book are some of the hints in regard to the pronunciation of the consonants. These are generally good, so far as they go, but they suggest anew to the initiated the futility of trying to learn even an occidental pronunciation of Arabic without the guidance of a good teacher. In the case of the guttural 'ain the hint is given: "To mimic baby camels is best of all." This may be true, but the suggestion is not likely to be very widely useful. Would it not be well to include, even in an elementary treatise, a brief description of each consonant in the technical terminology of phonetics, so far as this can be done?

The *First Reading Book*—the most important volume in such a series—opens with a number of extracts from the Koran: The *Fātiḥa*, the "Throne Verse" from the Second Sura, parts of Sura 7, and Sura 64. These Koranic extracts, covering nearly thirty pages printed in larger type than the rest, are given a minute and very admirable analysis and interpretation in an appendix. Every word is dissected, every form explained and translated, and in each case the necessary reference to the *Grammar* is given. The system employed leaves nothing to be desired in clearness and conciseness, and the interpretation is masterly throughout. The one objection that could be made to this first division of the book, in which the learner is to make his first acquaintance with the language, is that it is unnecessarily difficult. Most of the Koran is rather hard reading for beginners, meat for men rather than milk for babes. Even the *Fātiḥa*, with its loanwords and its pair of hard constructions, is not an ideal point of attack, and the other passages brought together here are by no means among the easiest which could have been selected. The student who is trying to master so exacting a tongue as the Arabic ought to have the full benefit of the pedagogical rule, "a little at a time." Experience has shown that the best way to begin is to employ narrative prose texts, as plain and simple as possible both in subject-matter and in

grammatical structure. Many would say that in commencing work on these, only the few portions of the grammar which are absolutely indispensable should be learned, and that with this small stock-in-trade the beginner may go on for some time with very gradual addition to his study of morphology and syntax. Others would prefer to begin at the very outset with just such complete dissection of forms and constructions as this book contains, while probably all would agree that such analysis is indispensable at some early stage in the learner's progress. But in any case, the text analyzed should be easier in structure and plainer in meaning than these Koranic extracts. Learning by heart is a useful practice—though perhaps more so after a little preliminary study than at the very beginning—and for this purpose the First Sura is certainly to be recommended, but the other passages here chosen (with the exception of the "Throne Verse") are not well suited to that end. And finally, the difficulty of the analysis is increased, as has already been said, by the employment of a considerable number of strange technical terms, where it would have been entirely practicable to use the ordinary nomenclature, applicable to Arabic as to most other languages, with which the student has long been familiar. After finishing the Koran selections, the student is advised in the Preface to continue with the last two passages in the book, taken from al-Makkari's account of the Arab occupation of Spain. Here again the selection is not entirely fortunate. The passages are excellent specimens of classical Arabic, and very interesting in themselves, but are too difficult for students in this early stage of their studies. What is more, no help is given in the form of explanatory notes or references to the grammar. The learner is simply left to get along as best he can with no other aid than that of a concise vocabulary. Footnotes are sorely needed, such as are provided in the later volumes of the series. This remark applies also to the remainder of the book. There is still abundant room for a *first* reader containing texts of the same grade as those which constitute the principal part of Volume I of the *Majānī 'l-Adab*, and furnished throughout with such helps as the tyro needs.

The *Second* and *Third Readers* are well suited to their purpose. The *Second* is compiled with good judgment from such well-known anthologies as the *Mustaṭraf*, the *Iqd al-Farīd*, the *Zahr al-Ādāb*, and others. The extracts are classified, and given in chronological order, and footnotes are provided. The *Third* returns to Wright's *Reading Book*, and contains nearly all of the remainder of it. The main branches of classical Arabic literature are represented, including poetry and rhymed prose (Hariri's eleventh *Maqāma*). This volume also is furnished with footnotes and an adequate glossary.

Such a chrestomathy, suited to the needs of students in the second or third semester, is very welcome, now that those of Kosegarten (excellent in its time), Arnold, and others of less merit are no longer to be had. The Arabic volumes of the "Semitic Study Series," edited by Professors Gottheil

and Jastrow, are useful books for students, but differ from those of the Thornton series in two chief respects: the selections from single authors are much longer in extent, and the vocabularies are only partial instead of complete. The former of these differences is perhaps an advantage, while the latter is certainly a defect. It is a pity that in so many otherwise admirable student books considerations of economy should compel the curtailing of vocabularies and notes far below what is necessary for the best results.

The last volume of the Thornton series is the textbook of *Prose Composition*, compiled by T. H. Weir, of the University of Glasgow. It begins with exercises on the grammar and parts of speech, followed by a few pages of miscellaneous sentences, and then gives a number of well-chosen texts from classical sources. The remainder of the book, some seventy pages, consists of extracts translated from a Cairo weekly paper, the *Mu'ayyad*. The greater part of these appeared originally in English, either in the *London Times* or in Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt*. For the help of the student a "literal version" of each extract, approaching the Arabic idiom, is added to the original English. The book has a good vocabulary (77 pages).

All in all, the Thornton series can be made extremely useful to students whose mother-tongue is English. The beginner who has gone beyond his first semester will find in these handy little volumes an easier and more concise introduction to the most important branches of Arabic literature (excepting tradition) than could be obtained elsewhere. It will probably be many years before another equally comprehensive anthology will be compiled.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLAM¹

The critique of the beginnings of Islam seem, during the last few years, to have taken a decided turn in the right direction. The older works on the subject were still more or less fettered by the straightjacket of Mohammedan scholastic tradition; just as the whole science of Semitic linguistics has been shackled by the theories of the schools of Basrah and Kufah. We are, happily, worrying ourselves out of this straightjacket, which still held the acute, though somewhat erratic, Sprenger. The works of such scholars as Nöldeke, Wellhausen, Snouck Hurgronje, Goldziher, Caetani, Lammens, and C. H. Becker have laid a certain foundation upon which to build. But the literary criticism of the Koran has lagged behind woefully. And though the earlier Mohammedan scholars were not averse to doubting the authenticity of received tradition in regard to the origin and composition of the

¹ *Mohammed et la fin du monde. Étude critique sur l'Islam primitif.* Par Paul Casanova, Professeur de langue et littérature arabes au Collège de France. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1911. Pp. 83.

Koran, the road they had blazed seems not to have been followed by their descendants. At least, the storm raised at the Congress of Orientalists at Algiers (1905) by the late Karl Vollers through his paper upon the vocalization of the Koran¹ shows that our modern Mohammedan fellow-scholars still allow their patriotism to determine their scientific point of view.

As we are at the beginning of this period of the literary criticism of the Koran, the hope may be ventured that the aberrations and the dogmatism that have characterized some of the work done in the criticism of the Bible may not find their way into this new and untrodden field, and that the Koran may not become the parade-ground for the exercise of mere ingenuity and the wit of combination. Prince Caetani, in his monumental *Annali dell' Islam*, has shown himself sufficiently skeptical of the *ḥadīth*; and Père Lammens has gone still further in discrediting what he calls the Medina tradition in contradistinction to that of Syria.² We must have a care that the pendulum does not swing too far in the opposite direction. M. Casanova, himself, is enough of a skeptic to release him from the trammels of pure tradition; he is fine enough a scholar to have the poise necessary for a careful and considered judgment, though one may differ with him in particulars.

In the part of his work now before us, the successor of Barbier de Meynard at the Collège de France undertakes a task which is full of interest, not only to students of Islam but to all those who are concerned with the history of religion. That task is nothing less than to explain the true genesis of Islam, the Mohammedan theory of statehood, and the origin of those theologico-political revolutions which have seared the history of Mohammedanism. He has certainly made the attempt in a most novel fashion; one that challenges many of our received opinions on these subjects. A final judgment on the thesis of M. Casanova is impossible until the remaining two parts of the book are before us.

According to M. Casanova, the Koran is nothing less than an "Apocalypse," a revelation dealing with the end of the world (p. 68). One cannot help feeling that, stated in such bold terms, this appears to be an exaggeration. The number of passages dealing with the subject is so small when compared with the whole volume of the Koran that the author himself is forced to qualify his statement and to limit it to the non-juridic portion of the earliest surahs. In fact, he notes (p. 71) three stages in the mental evolution of the prophet: the first, in which he is practically obsessed by the

¹ See his *Volksprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (1906), p. 2.

² In a series of articles on the Omayyid Caliphs published in the *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* of the Université Saint-Joseph of Beyrouth, Syria. It is curious to see how local Syrian patriotism sways the judgment of this widely read and judicious scholar, and makes him a partisan (as it were) of this dynasty, in opposition to the whole of Mohammedan historical tradition. I am glad to see that M. Casanova (p. 58) disagrees also with the view of Père Lammens. Goldziher, however, inclines to Lammens's view (*Vorlesungen*, p. 83).

idea that the end of the world is imminent; the second, in which he hesitates in regard to this imminence; and the third in which preoccupation with other matters diverts his attention from it. That the idea of the end of the world—and at a date not far distant—did play a conspicuous part in the early theological outlook of the prophet cannot be gainsaid; he refers to it in such expressions as: *al-sā'ah* (15:85), *al-yākin* (15:99), *lizām* (20:129), *al-wāki'ah* (56:1), *al-wa'd* (67:65). M. Casanova asserts (p. 12) that this alone is Mohammed's primitive idea; yet, it is somewhat difficult to reconcile such a view with the temporal punishments (as with 'Ād, Thamūd, the Sodomites, etc.), with which the Prophet operates during the opening years of his ministry.

In similar manner, M. Casanova holds that Mohammed did not believe that he himself would die (p. 12); that he held himself to be the last prophet chosen to preside, together with the Messiah, come again on earth, at the end of the world, at the resurrection, and at the last judgment (p. 8). Of such a belief there seems to be no mention in the Koran. On the contrary, it is expressly stated that Mohammed would die, as other prophets before him had died (39:31; 3:138); and M. Casanova (p. 15) is forced to take refuge in a tradition reported by al-Wāḥidī (468 A.H.), but unknown to the earlier al-Ṭabarī (ca. 250 A.H.), and to declare that passages in the Koran to the effect that Mohammed would not die had been expunged from the text, just as those dealing with the contrary belief had been added by Abū Bakr and Othman.

This opens up the whole question of the authenticity of our present text. There can, of course, be no doubt that our text of the Koran has passed through a historical development, as all such old texts have done. Silvestre de Sacy, Weil, Sprenger, Hirschfeld, and Fischer have occasionally suggested that readings have been tampered with. But it is necessary to bear in mind the composite character that the text bore from the very beginning, where often the most disparate subjects are treated in one and the same surah. A simple rearrangement will, at times, bring order and sense, as Goldziher has shown¹ in one single case. Nor must we forget that Mohammed's was no well-ordered mind; that he lived his spiritual existence, as it were, from hand to mouth; and that it is quite possible that at very short intervals apart he held quite contradictory theories as to matters of faith and of his own relation to the divine scheme of salvation. It may then be that at one time or another, Mohammed did conceive the idea (gotten from some Jewish or Christian heterodox sects) that he in person was to play a part in the final outcome of such a scheme; but this was nothing more than a passing fancy. His insistence upon his own purely human character seems to be too certain to be outweighed by arguments that depend upon traditions not well authenticated and upon "higher critical" assumptions.

¹ *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 34.

In yet another matter one might feel inclined to quarrel with the ultimate authority of M. Casanova. On pp. 45 ff. he has a most interesting disquisition on the *malḥamah* (pl. *malāḥim*) literature, which title, following Steinschneider and Sprenger, he very properly identifies with the Hebrew word *milḥāmāh*, and the substance of which he connects with the Jewish eschatologic idea of the *ḥebhlē ha-māshiah*. Following in the wake of such late authors as Ibn Khaldūn (ca. 750 A.H.) and al-Maḥrīzī (ca. 800 A.H.), he takes as his base traditions said to have come from Ka'b al-Akhbār, Wahb ibn Munabbih, 'Abd Allah ibn Salām, etc. But the authority of these Jewish story-tellers was already suspect to Mohammedan traditionists themselves; and the ideas for which they stand as sponsors were evidently imported into Islam from the outside and are no part whatsoever of the primitive religion of Mohammed and his immediate followers. The interesting point is well made (p. 55) that Mahdi-ism is not really a heterodoxy in Islam; all through its history, Mohammedanism of all forms has coquetted with it. But if it is an idea that originally was connected with Mohammed himself, M. Casanova does not attempt to explain (p. 57) how it came to be transferred from Mohammed to Ali. The mystic sense in the idea seems to be first connected with another Mohammed, the son of Ali; but it seems to be a pure invention to call him a "reincarnation of the prophet" (*ibid.*), or to say that the idea of Mohammed as the prophet of the "Malḥamah" lives on in the idea of the Mahdi. As far as I know the Mahdi has never been confounded with the prophet. It still seems too evident that later Jewish and Persian ideas have been at work molding this conception.

Another point on which M. Casanova touches, and which is of wider interest, is the relative obligation of the Arabian prophet to the older religions that preceded him, Judaism and Christianity. Particularly since the first effort of Geiger,¹ followed by Hirschfeld,² and quite latterly by Friedlaender,³ the palm has been given to Judaism. Wellhausen was the first scholar to lean in the opposite direction.⁴ The claims of Christianity have been asserted and formulated most fully by Schwally⁵ in the sentence "Islam was the form in which Christianity passed into Arabia." Eschatologically, M. Casanova seems (pp. 68 ff.) to be of the same opinion. According to him, Mohammed's doctrine concerning the end of the world is essentially Christian. The only novel detail introduced by Mohammed was the picture of the Mahdi and of his rôle. But, then, one may pertinently ask, why are so few of the elements that go to make up that conception in its peculiarly

¹ *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (1833).

² *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran* (1886); *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Koran* (1903).

³ *Jewish Arabic Studies in JQR*, New Series, I, 183 ff.

⁴ "Juden und Christen in Arabien," in *Skizzen*, III, 197 ff.

OLZ (1912), Col. 486.

Christian form not found in the Koran? M. Casanova himself is forced to admit (p. 69) that that part dealing with the Antichrist and with the return of Jesus is conspicuously wanting; and he can only add "the silence of the Koran seems to be an enigma." If the chief Christian elements are missing, the residue remains Jewish, as anyone can see who will cast a glance into the works of Bousset and Charles dealing with the religious thought of post-Biblical Judaism. And if the influence of Christianity, in whatsoever form it may have been, had been as great as some scholars imagine it to have been, the rôle of Jesus would not have been confined in the Koran to that of a simple prophet. M. Casanova takes refuge in the supposition that passages that went farther than this have been cut out, and that the few that did remain have been "semée discrètement dans la vaste champ des sourates pour en affaiblir la portée." This reminds one of the polemical writings of the Mohammedans against the "*ahl al-Kitāb*." It is very special pleading and will hardly convince scholars.

I have ventured to dwell upon some of the points in regard to which it seems impossible to agree with the learned author. But I hasten to add that there are many fine and penetrating observations scattered throughout the book, which is written with a profound knowledge of the subject. Even where he is not convincing, M. Casanova has given much food for thought and has paved the way for a more intense study of the Koran, which must be fruitful in furthering our understanding of Islamic origins.

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A HISTORY OF ISLAM¹

The indefatigable author of the *Annali dell' Islam* has commenced in this *Chronographia Islamica* a work that must prove very useful to all who have an interest in the life of the Arabian prophet and in the history of Early Islam. The monumental *Annali*, of which five volumes have already appeared, are planned to reach up to thirty volumes—a herculean task for any one man to lay out for himself. But upon the hard and extensive plan which Prince di Teano has elected to follow, these thirty volumes will bring the history of his subject no farther down the path of time than to the year 132 A.H., and the mass of material which he has collected for the period beyond that date would probably, according to all human calculations, be lost to the scientific world. In order to place this material at the service of scholars, or at least to indicate where it can be found, he has

¹ *Chronographia Islamica, ossia riassunto cronologico della storia di tutti i popoli musulmani dall' anno 1 all' anno 922 della Higraph (622-1517 dell' Era Volgare), corredato della bibliografia di tutte le principali fonti stampate e mano scritte. Compilato da Leone Caetani, Principe di Teano, Deputato al Parlamento. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1913. Fascicolo I: Anni 1-22 H. . . . Pp. xiv +255.*

conceived the idea of publishing, concurrently with the *Annali*, a short résumé of Mohammedan history from the year 1 of the Hijrah up to the year 922 A.H., the date of the conquest of Egypt by the Turkish sultan Salim I. Each year is treated as a separate chapter; each event or series of events in the year receives a separate number. In such wise, the student has before him the chief facts that may engage his attention, not only as regards each part of the Mohammedan world, but also in contemporary Byzantine history. Prince di Teano thinks always in large quantities, and carries out his thoughts along lines that are equally as large. By keeping two printing offices at work at one and the same time, he hopes to complete the *Chronographia* in eight or nine years.

Anyone who has made investigations into the early history of Islam knows how baffling a task it is; how difficult is a study of the sources. Most of the printed works have to be used in editions gotten out at Cairo or at Hyderabad; where, at the very best, the typography is badly executed upon indifferent paper, and where the thought of providing indices never presents itself to the mind of the editor. In practice, every reader is forced to make his own index. Add to this the fact that some of the principal sources are still in manuscript, and it will become apparent immediately how much time and effort must be wasted in preparing the material and the tools with which the work is to be done. By giving the authorities for each single event, Prince di Teano has made it possible for us to find with readiness and dispatch what the original sources are. The new method of direct photography on bromide paper has made it possible for the author to indicate with precision many manuscript sources. I remember well, when spending an hour with the author in 1910, the long rows of photographic reproductions that filled a whole book-case in the beautiful library of the Palazzo Caetani in Rome.

In addition, at the beginning of each year a comparative table of dates is given, in which the Christian day of the month is placed directly opposite the Mohammedan day, thus sparing the student the trouble of working out difficult mathematical problems. More curious is the return to the old Arabic method of writing annals—known to us, e.g., from Abū al-Maḥāsin—where, after the events that happened in the year have been recorded, a list is given of the prominent men who died in that year. The value of such lists is, however, enhanced by the rich bibliographic references that are added.

That all this has been done with great care and with much accuracy need hardly be added. We are accustomed to that in any work undertaken by Prince di Teano. And where so much has been given, it would be ill grace to ask for more. But in some cases, where there are several editions of a work, an indication might have been given as to the one cited; e.g., Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Siyūṭī's *Ḥisn al-Muḥāḍarah*. Some slight additions to the literature might have been made, e.g., on the *Minbar* (p. 66, No. 28;

p. 80, No. 32), al-Ḳalkashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, p. 252; Praetorius in *ZDMG*, LXI, 617, etc., p. 80. No. 33, p. 82. No. 53, on Ḥatim al-Ṭā'i the editions of his *Diwān* by Hassoun, London, 1872, by Schulthess, Leipzig, 1897, and the Cairo ed. of 1876, as well as the additions of Geyer, *WZKM*, XII, 308; p. 95. No. 49, the editions of Umayyah ibn abī al-Salt's poems by Schulthess, Leipzig, 1911, by Power in *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale*, Beyrouth, I, 197; V, 145 and I. Frank-Kamenetsky's *Untersuchungen über das Verhältniss des Umayyah . . . zum Qoran*, Dissert., Königsberg, 1911; p. 110, No. 3, on the death of Mohammed, Casanova's interesting, though not convincing, *Mohammed et la fin du Monde*, Paris, 1911; p. 116, No. 20: "Maometto, sua descrizione personale e biografica." In the mass of accounts that have been written of Mohammed, it is of course difficult to choose a certain number for reference. But we could well have done without Fontaine, Garde de Dieu, Lamartine, Washington Irving, Price, E. Bosworth Smith, etc., and have had in their place Syed Ameer Ali's *Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, London, 1873 (a Mohammedan's view in English dress); Nöldeke's *Das Leben Muhammed's*, Hanover, 1863; Weil's translation of Ibn Hishām, Stuttgart, 1864; Barthélémy St. Hilaire's *Mahomet et le Coran*, Paris, 1865; Lamairesse and Dujarric's *Vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1897; Reckendorf's *Mohammed und die Seinen*, 1907, and Khudāri's *Nūr al-yakīn fī sirat sayyid al-mursalīn*, Cairo, 1902 (a short and interesting biography in Arabic); p. 227, No. 12, "Fragments Coptes pour servir à l'histoire de la Conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes," in *JA*, XII (1888), p. 361; al Kindī might have been cited in the ed. of the first part by König, New York, 1908.

These are stray ears which any gleaner may pick up who comes after him that has harvested. We shall look forward with eagerness to the parts which are to follow, in the hope that this great work may be finished within the time set by its learned author.

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EXCAVATIONS AT BOGHASKÖI

This volume¹ forms No. 19 of the scientific publications of the Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, and is the last work of the late eminent archaeologist, Dr. Puchstein. Puchstein did not live to see the work through the press, so that his labors were necessarily supplemented by others.

The Orient-Gesellschaft was fortunate to secure the services of the able explorer of Baalbec, and his early death is a great loss to science. The work at Boghasköi was under the general direction of Makridy Bey, but the

¹ *Boghasköi, Die Bauwerke*. Von Otto Puchstein unter Mitwirkung von Heinrich Kohl und Daniel Krencker. Mit 111 Abbildung im Text und 50 Tafeln. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912. Pp. iv + 180 + 50 Tafeln folio. M. 66.

observation and description of the archaeological remains were done by Germans, of whom Dr. Puchstein was chief. The book is devoted, as its title indicates, to a description of the architecture, and in this regard leaves little to be desired. The facts are clearly set forth in the text, while the numerous photographs, maps, and plans enable the reader to form as clear an idea as one who has never been there can of the form and structure of the ancient fortifications, walls, gates, the royal palace, and the four temples. At the conclusion of the volume a little space is given to a discussion of the different theories concerning the site of the earliest settlement at Boghasköi and the development of the Hittite city.

In 1906 Winckler found an archive of about 2,500 clay tablets in three adjoining rooms of the great temple (Temple I), and in 1907 a second archive was found in one of the fortifications on a hill nearer the center of the ancient city, now called Böyük-kale. Winckler's illness and his lamented death prevented the publication of these tablets, the editing of which has now, we understand, been undertaken by a younger scholar. On p. 126 the opinion of Winckler is quoted, to the effect that the archive in the temple is from the great reign of Hattusil, and the other collection from a later time, probably from the last reigns of that dynasty.

The volume is well executed, the illustrations clear and satisfactory. May the publication of the tablets soon follow!

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BRYN MAWR COLLEGE



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This new work presents the first complete treatment of the subject of artificial parthenogenesis in English. Professor Loeb published four years ago a book in German under the title *Die chemische Entwicklungserregung des tierischen Eies*. Mr. W. O. R. King, of the University of Leeds, England, translated the book into English, and the translation has been revised, enlarged, and brought up to date by Professor Loeb. It gives, as the author says in the preface, an account of the various methods by which unfertilized eggs can be caused to develop by physico-chemical means, and the conclusions which can be drawn from them concerning the mechanism by which the spermatozoon induces development. Since the problem of fertilization is intimately connected with so many different problems of physiology and pathology, the bearing of the facts recorded and discussed in the book goes beyond the special problem indicated by the title.

The Mechanistic Conception of Life. Biological Essays by Jacques Loeb, Member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

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The achievements of Professor Jacques Loeb in the field of experimental biology insure any book of his a wide reading. His experimental work at the universities of Chicago and California, as well as in his present position, gives this volume an especial significance. Professor Loeb here presents many of the current problems in biology, and discusses the question whether the phenomena of life can be unequivocally explained in physico-chemical terms.

Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin. All eager to know more of the origin of life will find no modern book of its size nearly so instructive or inspiring.

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It treats in a clear and convenient way the matters of grammar, spelling, and general form which writers need most to be informed about, and gives full directions on the preparation of "copy" for the printer and the correcting of proof. The chapter on letter-writing is unique and of especial value in its practical suggestions.

C. E. Raymond, Vice-President of the J. Walter Thompson Co. It seems to me to be the most comprehensive and comprehensible of any of the works on this subject which I have had the pleasure of seeing.

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The book consists of ten chapters and a number of appendices. Each chapter is preceded by an analysis of the subject and followed by a series of suggested exercises. The whole subject is treated in a direct, practical way with the greatest possible clearness, and with illustrations drawn from subjects familiar and interesting to high-school boys. It is entirely modern in that it lays stress on efficiency, rather than on theoretical perfection. Illustrations are given from some of the most effective arguments ever written, and a list of suggested topics is added in an appendix.

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Harvard Law Review. To the reviewer the two papers first mentioned seem to be contributions of great and permanent value to the discussion of their topic. . . . The style of these essays is easy and delightful and their argument sane, thoughtful, and persuasive.

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The Nation. The two volumes must surely take their place among the standard classics of every architectural library.

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AT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1914



THE Summer Quarter at the University of Chicago is the most largely attended of the year, more than three thousand, seven hundred students having registered in the summer of 1913. The University year is divided into quarters: the Autumn, Winter, Spring, and Summer, and students are admitted at the opening of each quarter, and also in certain designated courses at the beginning of the second term of the Summer Quarter.

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Opportunities for diversion are numerous. In Jackson Park there are golf links, and in both Jackson and Washington parks, lagoons for rowing. There are many tennis courts in both parks, along the Midway, and on the campus. Through the Frank Dickinson Bartlett Gymnasium and the Lexington Gymnasium full facilities for physical culture are given to both men and women. In the Bartlett Gymnasium

The University of Chicago

there is a swimming-pool open daily to men, and at designated hours in the week, to women. The Reynolds Club offers social privileges to men, and the Women's Union serves the social needs of women resident in the University. Two of the special attractions at the University are the beautiful new Harper Memorial Library, with its great reading-room and book collections open to the student, and the athletic field of the University, with its splendid new concrete grandstand seating nearly 10,000 people.

Notable public libraries and museums, highly organized industrial plants, many typical foreign colonies, a large number of settlements, and other significant social institutions make Chicago a peculiarly appropriate center for study and investigation.

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The complete ANNOUNCEMENT of courses for the Summer Quarter of 1914 will be issued in March, 1914, and may be obtained by application to

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THE COMPOSITION OF JUDGES, CHAPS. 20, 21

By JULIUS A. BEWER
Union Theological Seminary, New York City

In our investigation of the composition of Judg., chap. 19¹ we saw that the literary question was inextricably interwoven with the historical question. The story in chap. 19, aside from a few minor touches, of which the only really important one is the cutting of the body of the concubine into twelve pieces and sending them into every one of the twelve tribes, makes the impression of antiquity and historical probability. But it is connected now with a story which Wellhausen has so conclusively shown to be legendary, that nobody can deny that in its present form the story is a late unhistorical Midrash. Further investigation, however, has convinced Moore, Budde, *et al.*, that there is an older nucleus in these chapters which still shines through. As to the process which resulted in our present narrative they are not agreed. Moore believes "that an author of the age and school of the Chronicler substituted for the middle of the original story a Midrash of his own." Budde has come to the conclusion that two pre-exilic sources were combined by a redactor with a late post-exilic Midrash, which had originally existed separately. Budde has won the assent of Nowack altogether, and for his main contention also that of Kittel and Steuernagel.

¹ *AJSL*, January, 1914, pp. 81-93.

The crucial section for the analysis is the description of the battle in vss. 29–48. According to Moore the older story consists of vss. 29, 36b, 37a, 38–41, 44a, 47; the later of vss. 30–36a, 42, 43, 44b–46, 48; while vss. 31aβ, part of 31b, 37b are glosses. According to Budde the older source consists of a compilation of three sources. To A belong vss. 29, 33 (?), 34, 36b–38, 40–42a, 44a; to B vss. 31aβb, 32; to C vss. 30, 31aa, 35, 36a, 47, 48; to the Redactor, vss. 39, 42b, 43, 44b–46. According to Kittel, to A (Kittel's N), vss. 29, 31aβbβ, 32, 34, 35aa, 36a, 47, 48; to B (Kittel's N¹), vs. 33 (or R); to C (Kittel's M), vss. 30, 31aaba, 36b, 37, 38, 40–42a, 44–46; to R, 35aβb, 39, 42b, 43.

If critics starting with the same fundamental assumption reach such diverse results, is it any wonder that Cornill calls the problem of chaps. 19–21 “a still unsolved riddle”? The question is still open.

If we are to reach any result that will command general acceptance we must try to discover, if possible, criteria which really work. Are there any really cogent reasons why we should regard the story as a compilation of two or three sources? What is there, if anything, that prevents us from recognizing in it a late unhistorical Midrash throughout? Are there any criteria in the text which point definitely one way or the other? We must begin by examining vss. 29 ff. in detail.

Moore argues with considerable force that there are two accounts of the battle in these verses. Vss. 36b–44 “contain not the sequel to the description of the battle in v. ^{31–36a}, but a complete parallel to it. As far as v. ^{42a} this narrative appears to be intact and bears every mark of being derived from a much older and better source than v. ^{31–36a}.”¹ But in his edition of the Hebrew text Moore communicates a suggestion by Torrey which has an important bearing on the analysis. “Torrey conjectures with much probability that these verses [35, 36a], which are manifestly premature before vv. 36b ff. (cf. Ziegler), and which Wellhausen and others regard as a late addition, originally stood after v. 41, and were accidentally misplaced by a scribe whose eye, in copying, strayed from **כִּי נָנַח עֲלֵיהֶם הָרְעָה**, at the end of v. 34, to the similar **כִּי נָנַח עֲלֵיו** **כִּי נָנַח עֲלֵיו** at the end of v. 41. V. 42 connects very well with v. 36a.”²

¹ *Commentary*, pp. 438 f.

² *SBOT*, p. 70.

This conjecture appears to me undoubtedly correct. Moore does not think that the analysis of the passage is affected by it. But it will soon appear that it is, for after it has been removed to its original place, it can be shown that the description of the battle in vss. 29-41 is a unity and does not require the hypothesis of a compilation of two sources.

Everything depends on a correct understanding of the relation of the various verses to each other. In vs. 31 we must read, with Ehrlich, *וַיִּנְחָקוּ* for *הִנְחָקוּ*, not only because of the unusual asyndetic construction, but also because of the unparalleled use of the hoph'al of *נָחַק*. As soon as this exceedingly slight emendation is made, there is no reason whatever for regarding the sentence, *and they were drawn away from the city*, either as a gloss (Bertheau, Moore) or as belonging to another source (Budde, Nowack, Kittel). In the phrase *on the highways, one of which goes up to Bethel and the other to Gibeah*, the last word was most probably either *Gebah* or *Gibeon*. The location of the scene is north of Gibeah. Moore regards the whole clause as a fragment of the other gloss. Budde and Nowack connect it directly with the sentence, *they were drawn away from the city*, but that would necessitate *אֶל־הַמִּסְלֹחַ* for *בַּמִּסְלֹחַ*; cf. vs. 32. But is either proposal really necessary? The text reads, with the slight proposed emendation, *And the Benjamites sallied forth to meet the people, and they were drawn away from the city, and began to slay some of the people as on the former occasions on the highways (one of which goes up to Bethel and the other to Gebah), in the open field, about thirty men of Israel*. The sentence is perfectly clear and consistent. The mention of the drawing away from the city and also of the highways is necessary at this point, because vs. 32 explains that this was the plan of the Israelites (cf. Budde). It is true, the relative clause which defines the location of the highways comes in somewhat awkwardly between *on the highways* and *in the open field*, which are evidently parallel expressions. But that does not prove that it is not original, especially since our author wants to tell us clearly that the location of the battlefield was to the north of Gibeah. We have no right to be extreme in our stylistic demands, especially if the matter is expressed clearly and consistently.

The Benjamites are already sure of victory. But now the author

explains that the flight of the Israelites was only a clever feint. They wanted to draw the Benjamites away from the city in order that it might be unprotected and thus at the mercy of the ambush. Vs. 33 proceeds to tell how they succeeded. *Now when all the Israelites¹ had risen from their place² and formed the battle-line at Baal Tamar,³ the ambush of Israel rushed forth⁴ from its position, west of Gibeah,⁵ and gained a position⁶ south⁷ of Gibeah,⁸ while the fight was severe and while they [the Benjamites] did not perceive that the disaster was imminent upon them.*

The author turns his attention from the main battle which he had briefly outlined in vss. 31, 32a to the operations of the ambush and describes somewhat in detail that the ambush had seized the opportunity, when the main army advanced against Gibeah and drew up in battle-line, and the attention of the Benjamites was directed exclusively upon the attacking force in the north, to emerge from its hiding-place west of Gibeah and to gain a favorable position south of Gibeah in order that they might at the given moment capture the city.⁹ This moment came, *and the men of Israel gave ground to Benjamin, relying on the ambush which they had set for Gibeah.* The author must repeat this here, because he is describing the operations of the ambush. *Then the ambush rushed quickly upon Gibeah and . . .¹⁰ put the whole city to the sword.*

Moore regards vs. 37b as a gloss, but the difference of singular and plural in the verbs is so common and so easily remedied that it cannot be taken seriously as an argument, and the phrase **וימשך הארב** is not really a "repetition." It looks however as if the

¹ Note the circumstantial clause!

² Read **ממקומם**, with Budde, or omit **ממקומם**, with Moore and Ehrlich, as due to dittography. Or should we read **קדמה** *had advanced* for **קמה** *rose*?

³ Its location is unfortunately unknown, but it lay either east or north of Gibeah.

⁴ Note the participle!

⁵ Read with the Versions **מפערב לגבעה**.

⁶ Moore's admirable translation of **ויבאר**.

⁷ Read with 27 Hebrew MSS and Targum **מינדר** for **מינב**. This appears to me preferable, though not absolutely necessary.

⁸ The phrase *ten thousand warriors picked from all Israel* is not original here, as will be shown later.

⁹ Vss. 35, 36a do not belong here as we saw above.

¹⁰ **וימשך הארב** is probably corrupt; cf. Ehrlich.

doubtful **וַיִּשְׁפֹּט** were a variant reading of **וַיִּשְׁפֹּט**. In that case **וַיִּשְׁפֹּט הָאֵרֶב** should be omitted as secondary. But not the whole sentence! For we need some such statement at exactly this point in the narrative. Budde feels this, though he objects to its form and regards it as a gloss, because to him everything in this connection depended on the signal and not on the extermination of the city. But the signal implied that "the whole city went up in flames heavenward" (vs. 40), i.e., it implied its extermination.

The narrative in vss. 38-39 is recognized by Moore as homogeneous, with the single exception of the phrase *as in the former battle* in vs. 39, which we may leave aside for our present purpose. He has shown that vs. 39a is part of the description of the agreement given in vs. 38 and has rightly emended **וַיִּדְּפֹךְ** to **וַיִּדְּפֹךְ**, *then the men of Israel should turn about in the battle*, i.e., "upon this signal the Israelites, who were retreating in feigned discomfiture, should turn upon their pursuers." **הַפֶּךְ** is used here in the same sense as in vs. 41.¹

Vs. 39b is clearly a repetition of a part of vs. 31. But it is not secondary; on the contrary it is quite essential and an intentional and effective recapitulation. The author throws it into a circumstantial clause, just as we should expect. He takes up the thread of the story which he had dropped in vs. 32, by this brief recapitulation. We would do exactly the same, adding perhaps *as we said*.

Now Benjamin had begun to slaughter among the men of Israel about thirty men: just when [notice the force of כִּי] they said we have surely beaten them [again] as in the first battle,² the fire-signal began to rise from the city, a column of smoke, marking their doom. The following presents no difficulty as far as vs. 41 inclusive.

The description of the battle begins with the attack of the main army and the feigned flight of the Israelites. Then it turns to the operations of the ambush, and shows how they gained a favorable position during the excitement of the formation of the battle-lines and the beginning of the battle, and how they rushed from this

¹ Budde, Nowack, and Kittel understand vs. 39a as saying, *and the men of Israel turned [to flee] in the battle*. But vs. 40 which gives "the description of the execution of this stratagem" (Moore) shows clearly what the meaning of **הַפֶּךְ** is. Why **וַיִּדְּפֹךְ** should be "bedenklich" (Nowack) as the continuation of vs. 38 is difficult to see, since the construction in the indirect speech beginning with **לְהַעֲלֹת** is grammatically quite regular.

² Note the slight variations for the sake of style.

vantage point upon the unprotected city as soon as the Benjamites had been drawn away from it by the feigned flight of the Israelites. After telling us of the prearranged signal which the ambush was to give the main army to inform it of the capture of the city by the ambush, the narrator turns again to the main battle and takes up the story at the point where he left it to describe the operations of the ambush, and describes in dramatic manner how the very moment of apparent triumph of Benjamin really marks its certain defeat.

If this understanding of vss. 29-42 is correct, there is no reason to assume a complication of two, much less of three, different sources. The narrative is a unity. This result is so important that a translation of these verses will test its validity.

29. And Israel put men in ambush against Gilead on all sides.¹ 30. And the Israelites marched against the Benjamites [*on the third day*]² and formed their lines against Gibeah as on the former occasions. 31. And the Benjamites sallied forth to meet the people and they were drawn from the city, and began to slay some of the people as on the former occasions on the highways (one of which goes up to Bethel, and another to Gebah), in the open field, about thirty men of Israel. 32. And the Benjamites said, They are put to flight before us as at the first time. But the Israelites had passed the word, "Let us flee and draw them away from the city to the highways." 33. Now when all the Israelites [i.e., the main body] had arisen from their place and formed the battle-line at Baal Tamar, then the ambush of Israel rushed forth from its position, west of Gibeah, 34. and gained a position south³ of Gibeah, while the fight was severe and they [the Benjamites] did not perceive that disaster was imminent upon them. 36b. And when the Israelites gave ground to Benjamin relying on the ambush which they had set for Gibeah, 37. then the ambush rushed quickly upon Gibeah and . . . smote the whole city with the edge of the sword. 38. Now it had been agreed upon between the men of Israel and the ambush⁴ that when they should send up a signal-smoke from the city, 39. the men of Israel should turn in battle. Now Benjamin had begun [as we said] to make slaughter among the men of Israel about thirty men: just when they said, we have surely beaten them again as in the first battle, 40. the fire-signal began to rise from the city, a column of smoke; and Benjamin looked back and saw the whole city going up in flames heavenward. 41. Then the Israelites turned about and the Benjamites were in dismay, for they saw that disaster had overtaken them.

¹ The reading סביר is suspicious.

² On this see below.

³ Even if the reading of MT מנגד is retained, we must think of the main army as on one side, the ambush on the other, opposite, side of Gibeah.

⁴ הרב is to be omitted as a dittograph.

It is in this section that we get our first clue for the unraveling of the literary problem. The statement that the Benjamites thought, when they had killed about 30 men, that they had beaten them as badly as on the first day (vss. 31, 39), gives us a clue for the criticism of the figures in this chapter. It proves that the huge figures were not part of the original story. It is an indication that *the chapter has been worked over by someone who made the forces far larger than they had been in the old story*. Of course, to a writer of religious stories historical improbabilities are as nothing. So the historical consideration that a campaign on such a scale could never have taken place is not decisive in the question of literary composition. To a writer of fairy tales huge numbers are most acceptable. But when in the course of a story which had dealt with thousands and hundreds of thousands we come upon the number 30 it startles us, it is so small! And how after killing 30 men the Benjamites can at once come to the conclusion that they have beaten their opponents as badly as on the first day, when they killed 22,000 men, is strange indeed. It is evident that the writer who reveled in thousands left here unwittingly a number which is altogether out of proportion by its smallness. And we are therefore justified in saying that the account, as we have it now, is evidently based on an older, less exaggerated, and more natural account. In other words, the huge figures are the work of a later hand; they were not an original element of the older story.

Another such telltale mark is in vss. 15, 16: *And the Benjamites mustered on that day from the cities 25,000 (Ⓔ) fighting men, not including the inhabitants of Gibeah; they mustered 700 young warriors. Of all this force 700 young warriors were left-handed, every one could sling a stone at a hair line and not miss.*

The figure 700 attracts our attention. It occurs twice. Certain Greek texts have it only once, for they do not have vs. 16aa. Moore says "on grounds merely of transcriptional probability we might be inclined to think that the clause had fallen out by *homoeoteleuton* (Clericus): but the intrinsic probability is here strongly in favor of the shorter reading."¹ He omits therefore, *of all this force 700 young warriors* as secondary. And he translates vs. 15b, *besides the inhabitants of Gibeah who mustered 700 young warriors*. But there is no

¹ SBOT, p. 69.

relative clause, the literal translation is, *not including the inhabitants of Gibeah they mustered 700 young warriors*. Who? Evidently the Benjamites from the other cities! But that was not enough for our later editor, so he inserted *25,000 fighting men*. What difficulty the figure 700 presented to him is clear from vs. 16. Moore, it is true, omits besides *of all this force 700 young warriors also left-handed*. He says "it is scarcely likely that he [the author] meant to represent the whole corps as left-handed."¹ Budde has already pointed out that it is scarcely likely that the author would make slingers of *all* the Benjamites. This argues against the omission of vs. 16a. The reading of vs. 16 as in MT is therefore correct and the omission of part of vs. 16a by ^{MS} is due to homoeoteleuton. The verse bears eloquent testimony to the difficulty which the 700 of the old story caused to the later writer. There are two attempts to account for it; according to the one the inhabitants of Gibeah numbered 700, according to the other the 700 were a special élite troop of slingers.

Further evidence of the validity of our criterion is furnished by its application to vs. 10, where the clue works remarkably well in explaining the origin of the strange episode. As the text stands, "we are to imagine 360,000 men sitting down within an hour's march of Gibeah, while 40,000 foragers scour the country for provisions" (Moore). How could anybody compose such a strange tale? "These absurdities" disappear as soon as we assign to the Israelitish forces a number which is in true proportion to the 700 Benjamites. Then this item is quite significant, for we must remember that the Israelites came from their homes without special provisions. They were unprepared. Many might have been inclined to go home first and get ready for war, but this is voted down; it was emphatically declared that none of them should go home, they were to march against Gibeah directly. And for foragers they set apart one out of every ten. To assume that this tenth would be excluded from active service is unwarranted, and why it should be "not altogether natural" (Moore) to choose by lot those who were to look for provisions is difficult to see, since there was no regular commissariat and this method was in line with common practice. The fact that the passage yields admirable sense and is full of significance, when it is recognized

¹ *Commentary*, p. 431.

that the immense numbers are due to a later hand, while it is utterly absurd as it stands, shows that the contention that there underlies the story an older, more historical account is really well founded. We assume that the old story had in vs. 16 only, *and we will take ten men out of a hundred to secure provisions for the people that have come to do¹ to Gibeah etc.*

The thousands and ten thousands are to be credited to the later hand.

There are two other figures where the addition of *thousand* can be made plausible by a critical observation of the story itself. They are the 22,000 in vs. 21 and the 18,000 in vs. 25. We saw before, when Benjamin had killed 30 Israelites, they thought that they were beating them as decisively as on the first day. From this it seems reasonably sure that the old story had 22 instead of 22,000 in vs. 21, and 18 instead of 18,000 in vs. 25. There is another point which argues for this. The term *כבראשונה*, *as at first*, in vs. 32 which is made more definite in vs. 39 by *במלחמה הראשונה*, *as in the first battle*, argues for two battles or for two days of battle only, not for three days, as our present text has it. Vss. 19–28, which describe now two days, described originally only one day. The confusion has come in through the insertion of vs. 23, which is clearly a later interpolation (so also Moore). Vs. 22 shows that the Israelites rallied directly after the initial defeat in which they lost 22 men and formed their battle-line again in the same place as at first (read *בראשונה*). They proceeded to attack Gibeah again (omit *ביום השני*, *on the second day*, vss. 24, 25, which is due to vs. 23), but were defeated again, and lost 18 men. That means that they lost 40 men that first day. So when the Benjamites killed about 30 on the next day, they thought that they were beating them again as in the first battle.

The clue is evidently working, but it must not be overworked by applying it *in the same manner* to all the figures. It would surely be tempting to assume that instead of 400,000 Israelites (vss. 2, 17) there were originally only 400. This would be in proportion to the 700 Benjamites as well as with other figures from this period, e.g., 600 Danites of chap. 18, and it would account for the initial defeat of Israel since the Benjamites were in the majority. But there is no

¹ Read *לפגועם לעשות*.

such evidence for 400 Israelites as one of the data of the older story as for the 30 and 700, though its probability may be considerable. If the old story had 400, that would account for the 400,000, for the later writer liked to add *thousand* to the figures as we saw in vss. 21, 25. The number 25,000 (or 26,000) for Benjamin would then easily be accounted for as due to the writer's estimate that 25,000 Benjamites was the proportionate figure for this smaller tribe, if the other tribes numbered together 400,000 fighting men.

It would be a mistake to regard the figures in vss. 35, 44, 45, 46 as derived from the older source and to think that by simply omitting *thousand* we could get the original figures. The figure 25,100 is so clearly gotten by computation of the data of vss. 15, 16, and 47; the figures in vss. 44-46 are so clearly an attempt to get 25,000; and the omission of *thousand* is so impossible in vs. 45 that we have to recognize here the later hand which inserted these elements.

In the light of this observation we can reconstruct the text of the original source in vss. 35, 42-48 with practical certainty by omitting the later elements, vss. 35a¹b, 44, 45a²a, 46.

35. And Yahweh gave Israel the victory over Benjamin. 36. And when the Benjamites saw that they were defeated, 42. they turned before the men of Israel in the direction of the wilderness; but the battle clung to them. And they that came from the city¹ made havoc with them in the midst,² 43. for³ they had surrounded Benjamin; and they pursued them as far as opposite Gebah,⁴ eastward. 45.⁵ And they gleaned them on the highways, and pursued them until they had cut them down.⁶ 47. And there turned and fled to the wilderness, to the Rock of Rimmon, 600 men, and they abode on the Rock of Rimmon four months. 48. But the men of Israel returned to the (other) Benjamites,⁷ and put them to the sword, both man⁸ and beast, everything that was there, and all the cities there were they burned.

¹ Read העיר for הערים with Moore.

² Read בחרד with Moore.

³ Insert כי, which had been omitted by haplography.

⁴ הדריכחו עד נכח and הרדיפהו מנחה are variant readings. The original read most probably נכח העיר. For Gibeah read Gebah, with Moore.

⁵ Torrey has suggested, convincingly, that the words of vs. 45a were "accidentally repeated from v. 47a, where they belong, the error being occasioned by the preceding כל אלה אנשי חיל vv. 44b, 46b" (Moore, *SBOT*, p. 71).

⁶ Point גרעם: cf. 21:6.

⁷ Who had not escaped to the Rock of Rimmon.

⁸ Read מעיר, the male population.

There is no reason why these verses should be assigned to another source than the one whose description of the battle we have in vss. 30–41. They are the direct, logical, and clear continuation of vss. 30–41, and aside from the interpolations of the large figures there is nothing that indicates a later, different, or composite origin for them. Moore acknowledges that “something of this sort [as told in vs. 48] seems to be presupposed in 21:18 ff.,” but he asserts that vs. 48 “in its present form is undoubtedly late.” As proof for this (?) he says in the critical note, “the phrase [בְּעִיר בָּרָחָם] is borrowed from Deut.” Was it also borrowed from Deut. by Job 24:12? Since there is no other trace of Deut. in these chapters, the statement cannot be made so categorical. Why vss. 42b, 43 should be “undoubtedly an addition by the later writer,” Moore does not say; Budde says of vs. 43 “wohl,” Nowack “probably.” I cannot discover any real reason for it, especially when the text is reconstructed as above.

Now we may go one step farther, and say, *the interpolator of the large figures was also responsible for the idea that all the tribes were gathered in common war against Benjamin.* (20:1, 2; 21:1–14, 24.) *The large figures are simply a part of that idea.*

The proof of this is found especially in 21:15–23 which contain the rape of the virgins of Shiloh and which are almost universally recognized as a part of the old story. Before going into this point however we must consider a few matters of text and composition in connection with these verses. In vs. 16 the later hand is seen in the phrase *the elders of the congregation*. It is more probable to suppose that the old source had *the elders of the people* (זִקְנֵי הָעָם) which the editor changed into זִקְנֵי הָעֵדָה, than that the editor wrote either the first half (Moore) or the whole verse (Budde), for vs. 22 shows that the old source presupposes a court of appeal, i.e., the elders. *Those that were left* refers then to the survivors of the battle.¹

Both Moore and Budde maintain that vs. 16 (Moore vs. 16a, Budde the entire verse) is superfluous before vs. 17. But that is

¹ Cf. Moore's footnote on p. 449. Just why “the language is not favorable to the supposition” that vs. 16a, “with the exception of the words, *the elders of the congregation*,” is part of the original narrative is not specified. Is it because the sentence occurs also in vs. 7 which comes from the late editor? If that is the reason, it should be observed that the editor does in vs. 7 what he does in vs. 1, he takes his point from the early narrative, to which he is constructing a parallel.

true only of their reconstruction of vs. 17. Moore reads for ירשת either אִיךָ תִּשָּׂאֲרָה, *how shall (a remnant) be left* or, preferably, אִיךָ תִּנָּשָׂאֲרָה, *how shall (a remnant) be saved*; Budde: נִשָּׂאֲרָה, *we will leave over*. Then, of course, the question in vs. 16 is superfluous. But these proposals are precarious.¹ Ehrlich translates ירשת פְּלִיטָה לְבִנְיָמִן, *a rape for the purpose of preservation be [permitted] to Benjamin!* For this meaning of פְּלִיטָה he compares Gen. 45:7. ירש he takes in the general sense of taking possession of something by force. This seems to me the best suggestion that has thus far been made. It is in line with the whole context and, if adopted, obviates Moore's and Budde's difficulty in vs. 16. Vs. 19a is commonly regarded as a topographical gloss describing the location of Shiloh (cf. the gloss *Shiloh which is in the land of Canaan*, vs. 12). As the text stands, the Israelites are conferring among themselves in vs. 19; they do not speak to the Benjamites till vs. 20. The definition of the location of Shiloh in this connection is, to say the least, uncalled for, since every one of them knew it very well. But it is clear that the place to which the Benjamites should go must have been mentioned in vs. 20, and it seems to me very likely that the topographical note stood originally after vs. 20 and defined the precise location of the vineyards of Shiloh where the yearly festival took place. Under the circumstances such a topographical note was necessary. While the note is at least superfluous in vs. 19, it assumes thus real significance after vs. 20.

The difficulties of vs. 22 have been solved by Ehrlich with whom we must translate, *And if their fathers or brothers come to complain with us, we will say to them, Spare them for our sakes,² for we have robbed each one of his wife in war,³ for you yourselves have not given them to them, that⁴ you should feel guilty.* The war referred to here is the war against Gibeah not against Jabesh, as Moore thinks who is

¹ Moore characterizes his own proposal as "a precarious conjecture" (*SBOT*, p. 72).

² Free translation. Literally, *favor us with them*, i.e., *give them to us*; cf. *BDB*, p. 336, 1a.

³ Read לֹא הָלַא, *for did we not rob . . . ?* So *GLM* (cf. Moore), which do not translate the negative.

⁴ Read כִּי for כִּעַת. Moore's readings, לֹא for לֹא and כִּי עָתָה for כִּעַת, are perhaps preferable, *for if you had given them to them, you would now be guilty*; or if not both, at least the second, כִּי עָתָה, *for you have not given them to them, else you would be guilty*.

thereby forced to regard the clause, which he translates, *because they did not each get a wife in the war*, as an insertion of the late editor.¹

Vs. 24 is assigned to two sources, by Budde, vs. 24b to A, following originally directly vs. 14aa; vs. 24a to C. But Moore has already shown that vs. 24b is not parallel to vs. 24a, but adds something to it, they return by tribes and clans to their respective territories, and finally disperse to their individual possessions. The verse is not composite but belongs to the late editor.

Vs. 25 is by the same redactor as 17:13, 19:1.

Now we can return to our argument that the interpolator of the large figures was also responsible for the idea that all the tribes were gathered in the holy war against Benjamin.

The significant point for our purpose in this story is the fact that the virgins are from a town on Mt. Ephraim, i.e., from the territory in which the man lived to whom the wrong had been done. This limitation of the range from which the virgins are taken substantiates our observation in connection with chap. 20 that the old story did not speak of all tribes. Here we see that it was originally an affair of the tribes on Mt. Ephraim only. They had agreed not to intermarry with Benjamin any more.² This does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a prohibition of intermarriage with foreign nations, but simply illustrates the ancient custom of marrying

¹ So in *SBOT*; in his *Commentary* Moore assigns the whole verse to the later writer. Budde attempts to explain the difficulties of the text as due to the compilation of two sources, B and C. But even if his argument were cogent we should think of a conflation of two variant readings rather than of a compilation of two sources.

² An interesting parallel is given by Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, II, 114: "'Okilla, a slave of Mārhab, the Emir of ancient Kheybar, had gathered a remnant of his villagers and was become their sheykh. One year when the Annezy passed by with their cattle, they pitched by the (friendly) Kheybar valleys, as in a place of much water. A maiden of the Arab entered Kheybar to see the daughters of the town: and there a young man was wounded with her love, who enticed the gazing damsel and forced her;—he was the sheykh Okilla's son! The poor young woman went home weeping;—and she was a sheykh's daughter. This felony was presently reported in the nomads' menzil! and, 'It was not to be borne that a virgin should suffer violence!' said all the Beduw.

The Annezy sheykhs sent to require satisfaction from the sheykh of Kheybar; who answered them shortly that the Annezy should no more water there. On the morrow the town sheykh, Okilla, rode to the nomads' menzil, with a few horsemen, and defied them. The Beduw set furiously upon them; and Okilla fell, and there were slain many of his people. The Beduw now overran all; they conquered the villages, and bound themselves by oath not to give their daughters to the Kheybara forever. [Italics are mine.] 'Thenceforward the Kheybara took bond women for wives; and at this day they are become a black people.' The Beduw left the villagers to husband the palm valleys, for the half fruits with them; and removed in the wilderness."

within the tribe or with friendly tribes. It illustrates the close connection between the tribes on Mt. Ephraim, just as it is also in line with the striking isolation of Judah in early Hebrew history; else the Benjamites who adjoin Judah might have taken Judean wives.¹

This observation makes against Budde's suggestion of assigning the Jabesh story in vss. 1-14 to two narrators: to A, vss. 1, 6-8, the first two words in vs. 10 and vss. 12-14^a; to C, vss. 2-5, 9-11. According to A there was no other punishment for the non-participation of Jabesh in the war against Gibeah than the forcible taking of all their marriageable girls. C alone spoke of the holy war against Jabesh and the extermination of all inhabitants except the 400 virgins. It may be admitted that this exceedingly keen and attractive analysis removes the most obviously late and unhistorical part of the story, but even the verses which are assigned by Budde to the older narrative assume a combination of all the tribes of Israel in this matter which the older narrative did not. Since this is the case, is there still any reason left for assuming a compilation of two sources in vss. 1-14? Is not the very purpose of this compilation theory to distinguish an earlier, more historical, from a later, fanciful story? Still, even if this purpose is defeated, the analysis into two elements might yet be justifiable, and we might trace two late strata of the Midrashic part.

Our first duty in such a case is to see whether the text as it stands yields sense or whether it bears in itself the marks of compilation. The statement that the Israelites at the beginning of the war had sworn not to give their daughters in marriage to the Benjamites is put at the beginning because everything else depends on it. After the virtual annihilation of Benjamin the reversal of feeling sets in and causes weeping and complaining about Yahweh's "mysterious providence." The extermination of a tribe was indeed no insignificant matter. Why had Yahweh allowed it to come to pass? After the sacrifices had been brought on the next day,² the people hit upon

¹ *Per contra* it makes for the originality of the statement in 19:1 that the man from Mt. Ephraim was a Levite who was sojourning in the remote parts of Mt. Ephraim. He had gotten his wife in Bethlehem in Judah which had very likely been his home before he went to sojourn in Mt. Ephraim, as the Levite of chaps. 17, 18. He appealed of course to the tribe among which he was living as a *gér*.

² *And they built there an altar* is certainly not original in the text, for 20:26 shows that they had sacrificed there the day before. Moore's rejection of the whole verse because of this phrase is unnecessary.

a solution of the difficulty. It is not presented as such directly, but it turns out eventually to be such. They had sworn at Mizpah that anyone not joining in the war against Benjamin should be put to death, and so they now inquire, who of all the tribes had not joined them? The question is not prompted by the desire to find a way of helping Benjamin. It is important to notice this. That motive is not woven in until the question has been put. Only from that point on we have two motives, the motive of punishing the recreant tribe and the motive of helping Benjamin at the same time. After this new motive is stated (vss. 6, 7), the author turns back to the question which is now repeated with double significance (vs. 8^a). It is found that Jabesh in Gilead had not joined the tribes in this holy war. Vss. 8 and 9 appear to be variant readings. From this point on the story is smooth,¹ the double purpose, of punishing Jabesh for her disobedience and of helping Benjamin at the same time, is accomplished.

We are thus able to account for the repetition of the question in vss. 5 and 8. If however it were insisted that one of the two be omitted as a gloss, it should be vs. 8 rather than vs. 5 because vs. 5b is essential for the understanding of the following. Without it the slaughter of the Jabeshites is an act of unreasonable cruelty. Budde is here more consistent in omitting (by way of assigning to another source) not only vss. 4, 5 but also vss. 9-11. And indeed if we are to assume a compilation, the analysis must be affected on the basis of the two distinct motives, and in that case we should assign vss. 4 (?), 5, 9-11 to one source² and the rest of the verses to another. This is certainly plausible; is it also necessary? If we had to do with the older narrator the awkward style, with its repetitions (compare vs. 3 with vs. 5a; vs. 5b with vs. 8), would speak for it. But as Moore says, in arguing for the retention of both vs. 8b and vs. 9, which I should much rather regard as variant readings, "such circumstantiality is the delight of late writers."³ The awkwardness of the style may therefore be due to the weaving together of the two distinct motives, as explained above; and since the motives themselves are both in accord with the thought of the later writer it is surely a serious question whether it is necessary to assume the

¹ Only vs. 12c to *Shiloh in the land of Canaan* is a redactional link.

² Budde's analysis includes for C also vss. 2, 3.

³ *Commentary*, p. 446.

presence of two different hands. If we do, we must insist that neither is historical or old. If vss. 4, 5, 9-11 are an interpolation, they must, at least in part, be due to the desire to explain how the Israelites could get the 400 virgins from Jabesh. Such an explanation was necessary, for the Jabeshites could hardly have been willing to give up 400 virgins without any ado. Now just here is our difficulty, the explanation is so much of the same type of reasoning as characterizes the interpolations of chap. 20 that we must assign it to the same interpolator. If the other verses were part of the old source, we would not have this difficulty. But this is, as we saw, not likely. We should have to assume another earlier source, as Budde indeed does, but this is not easy for us, since we have not found any traces of the second old source in chap. 20, and the evidence for such a source in these verses of chap. 21 is too meager.

The only alternative to regarding the theocratic editor as alone responsible for 21:1-14 is the theory which assumes the presence of another late hand. This might then reasonably be extended into chap. 20, where the late hand that wrote 21:2-5, 9-11¹ would be responsible for 20:18, 23, 27b, 28aa.

Only one point remains to be discussed, 20:1, 2. Moore regards the words, *then all the Israelites went out [to war] to [the sanctuary of] Yahweh at Mizpah*, as part of the old source, the rest of the verses he assigns to the late writer. This is more plausible than Budde's suggestion of three sources for vs. 1 and in addition to the late source for vs. 2 an insertion by someone else in vs. 2b. On account of vs. 3a I prefer a slightly different solution from Moore's. The whole of vss. 1, 2 appears to me to be the work of the late writer. Vs. 3a comes too early as it stands, but it read most likely in the old source, *And when the Israelites heard it they went up to Mizpah and said: וישמעו ויאמרו ויעלו בני ישראל המצפה ויאמרו*. That is, the old narrative joined this verse directly on to 19:30. When 20:1, 2 had been inserted, a subject was added to וישמעו, as so often elsewhere, since this could not be the Israelites, it had to be the Benjamites. This insertion necessitated the slight change of ויעלו into כי עלו, and the insertion of בני ישראל after ויאמרו.

¹ We should then join vss. 2, 3 with vss. 4, 5 (with Budde); cf. the parallel vs. 6.

The result of our investigation into the composition of chaps. 19-21 is this: the story is not a compilation of two, much less of three, parallel, originally independent sources, but is derived from one old, in the main reliable, source, which was worked over by a late theocratic editor. It is not improbable that a still later annotator imbued with the same spirit as the editor inserted a few characteristic interpolations. The final proof of the correctness of this solution lies in the fact that after the removal of these later elements,¹ which are easily recognized by their common characteristic of exaggeration, there remains a story, coherent, logical, and on the whole historically reliable.

¹ These later elements are in 19:29 (*into twelve pieces*), 20:1, 2, 10 (*for all the tribes of Israel, and 100 for 1,000, and 1,000 for 10,000*), 12 (read שבסי ר' for 'ר' שבסי, and 'ב' שבסי for 'ב' שבסי), 15 (26,000 fighting men), 16, 17, 18, 21 (*thousand*), 22 (*on the day*), 23, 24 (*on the second day*), 25 (*on the second day, and thousand*), 27b, 28a, 30 (*on the third day*), 34 (10,000 young warriors picked from all Israel), 35 (25,100 men, these were all valiant soldiers), 44, 45a (*except and they gleaned them on the highways*), 45b, 46; 21:1-14, 24, 25.

BABYLONIAN LEGAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS
FROM THE FIRST BABYLONIAN DYNASTY,
TRANSLITERATED, TRANSLATED,
AND ANNOTATED

BY GEORGE S. DUNCAN, PH.D.
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The following twenty inscriptions are taken from the second and fourth parts of the series, "Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets," etc., in the British Museum. The tablets in these two parts, as well as in Parts Six and Eight, were acquired by Dr. E. A. W. Budge during journeys in the Orient in 1888 and 1891. Most of the tablets come from Abu-Habba, the ancient Sippar, situated on the Euphrates about sixty miles north of Babylon. This city was sacred to the sun-god Šamaš in whose temple many thousand tablets were found. The city and temple were brought to light by the Rassam Babylonian Expedition, 1879-82. Under the direction of the Ottoman museum, at Constantinople, further excavations on the same site were conducted by Scheil in 1894.

Concerning the uses of the Babylonian temples De Morgan says:¹ "In Babylonia the temples were not only for religious purposes but also were places for the transaction of important business. In them were preserved the archives relating to land, private contracts, historic records, and the spoils of conquered peoples. The priest was at the same time scrivener, notary, and treasurer; he presided over the kings' granaries, and probably also administered justice in cases of minor importance." One may compare the various duties of the priest² in Israel as recorded in Exod., chaps. 21-23; Deut. 21:5; and Ezek. 44:24.

Of the twenty tablets here edited, fifteen relate to the purchase of house or field property, one to the purchase of an orchard, two to the settlement of a partnership business, one to an inheritance, and one to a lease. Women occupy a prominent place. In eleven of the

¹ *Harpers Magazine*, May, 1905, pp. 876 ff.

² Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures* (1882), pp. 84 ff.

sixteen purchase tablets women are the buyers; and in six they are the sellers. In one tablet a woman rents a field property, and in a tablet relating to the settlement of a partnership, women share with the male members of the family. Four orders of priestesses are mentioned. The witnesses are usually males but a few females are found.

The purchase documents have usually these six parts: (1) the purchase, containing a description of object purchased as to its character and location, its seller and buyer; (2) the payment of purchase price; (3) the seller's transfer of *bukānu*, satisfaction, and renouncement of claim; (4) the agreement that the seller and his legal heirs shall make no future claim to the object purchased; and the oath in the name of certain gods and the king; (5) the witnesses; (6) the date. This form of purchase document,¹ with slight differences, was common in other cities of Babylonia.

The script of the tablets is the Babylonian cursive. Sometimes it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish certain signs,² such as *šá* and *ta*; *ga* and *bi*; *ki* and *di*; *ba* and *ma*; *ku* and *šu*; *um*, *dub*, and *ab*; *ul* and *šur*. Often no clear distinction is made between *ṭ*, *ti*, and *d*; *ḳ*, *k*, and *g*; *s*, *š*, *ṣ*, and *z*; and between the spiritus lenis and *h*. One tablet (No. XVI) is wholly in Sumerian and the legal phraseology in all the tablets is usually in this language. The Sumerian is the relic of a time when it was generally spoken and written in Babylonia. It gradually yielded to the language of the immigrant Semitic people; but Sumerian was long retained in legal formulae much as Latin today in English legal documents. While most of the tablets can be read with certainty, there occur words and phrases, the exact meaning of which is not yet known. The context often suggests an approximate interpretation, but we must wait for future investigation to determine accurately the precise meaning.

In the notes the more important words, seeming to need explanation, have been discussed. The reading of the proper names agrees substantially with Ranke³ and Poebel.⁴ The dates appended to the

¹ Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents* (1909), pp. 7 ff.

² Ungnad, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik* (1906), sec. 4d.

³ Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* (1905).

⁴ Poebel, *Die sumerischen Personennamen* (1910).

tablets have been discussed by Lindl,¹ King,² and in part by Poebel.³ From the names of the kings invoked, all the tablets except one (No. XX) can be dated in the reigns of rulers of the First Dynasty. Eleven tablets have date formulae at the end. The kings of the First Dynasty with their approximate dates are as follows:⁴

Kings	Reign	Years	Tablets
1. Sumu-abum	2232-2219	14	
2. Sumu-la-el	2218-2183	36	No. I
3. Šabium, his son	2182-2169	14	Nos. II, III
4. Abil-Sin, his son	2168-2151	18	No. IV
5. Sin-muballiṭ, his son	2150-2131	20	Nos. V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X
6. Hammurabi, his son	2130-2088	43	Nos. XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV
7. Samsuiluna, his son	2087-2050	38	Nos. XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX*
8. Abi-ešuh, his son	2049-2022	28	
9. Ammidatana, his son	2021-1985	37	
10. Ammišaduga, his son	1984-1964	21 ?	
11. Samsuditana, his son	1963-1933	31 ?	

* Tablet No. XX is undated, but probably belongs in the reign of Sin-muballiṭ.

In preparing these tablets, three works have been found especially helpful. These are: Professor Dr. B. Meissner's *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* (1893); Dr. S. Daiches' *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* (1903); and Dr. A. Poebel's *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents* (1909). After the editing was completed Dr. A. Poebel went over all the tablets and suggested corrections. Through the kindness of Leonard W. King, M.A., of the British Museum, London, in August, 1912, I had access to all the tablets here edited. My collation, however, added nothing to the accurate copies made by Dr. Pinches and published in *CT*, II and IV. Of the twenty tablets selected, sixteen have not, it is believed, been hitherto edited, i.e., transliterated, translated, and annotated. The remaining four have been edited by Dr. M. Schorr,⁵ but his work was not seen until after the editing of the present tablets had been completed. The translations and notes differ in several respects from those of Dr. Schorr.

¹ Lindl, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, IV, 338-409; cf. Delitzsch, *ibid.*, pp. 403-9.

² King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* (1900), II, Pls. 217 ff.; III, pp. 211 ff.

³ Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents* (1909), pp. 56 ff.

⁴ Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* (1909), III, 1; but cf. Kugler, *Sterndienst und Sternkunde in Babel* (1912), Teil II, Heft I; King, *Sumer und Akkad* (1910), chap. III; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (1913), I, secs. 327 and 328, and p. 507.

⁵ *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil. hist. Klasse, CLV (Wien, 1907).

ABBREVIATIONS

- ACD = Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*.
 AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.
 BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*.
 CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in Brit. Museum*.
 DAL = Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*.
 DAR = Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*.
 DHWB = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*.
 HG = Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*.
 KB = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.
 KLIH = King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*.
 MAG = Meissner, *Assyrische Grammatik*.
 MAP = Meissner, *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht*.
 PLBD = Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents*.
 PMSL = Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*.
 PSBA = *Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
 PSPN = Poebel, *Die sumerischen Personennamen*.
 RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*.
 RLBD = Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents*.
 RPN = Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*.
 SAR = Schorr, "Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden." *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Phil. hist. Klasse*, 155. Band, 2. Abhandlung, 1908.
 TDR = Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme*.
 USBD = Ungnad, *Selected Babylonian Business and Legal Documents of the Hammurabi Period*.
 ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

I

TIME OF SUMU-LA-ĒL

CT, II, 34. Bu. 91-5-9, 367 (A woman rents a field property)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ 𒀭⁴ GAN XXV SAR ekel ² i-na
 ta-ve-ir-tim ³ šá A-mu-ru-um ⁴ ita Be-li-ia ⁵ ù 𒀭⁸ a-ra-su-?
 mi-ia ⁶ zittu A-sa-li-ia ⁷ i-ti Ilu-šu-i-bi-šu ⁸ mār Be-li-ia
⁹ ^d Ma-ia-tum ¹⁰ mārāt A-sa-li-ia ¹¹ ù-še-ši ¹² ù-la i-ta-ar
¹³ Ilu-šu-i-bi-šu (Edge) ¹⁴ a-na Ma-ia-tum ¹⁵ ù-la e-ra-ga-am
¹⁶ šum ^d Šamaš ^d A-a (Rev.) ¹⁷ ^d Marduk ù Su-mu- ¹⁸ la-ilu
 it-ma ¹⁹ maḥar Li-bi-it-Ištar ²⁰ maḥar Bur-Nu-nu ²¹ maḥar
^d Mar-tu-ba-ni ²² maḥar ^d Adad-ri-me-ni ²³ maḥar I-da-du-um
²⁴ maḥar Na-ap-sa-nu-um ²⁵ maḥar Ta-ku-um-ma-tum ²⁶ maḥar
 Be-li-zu-nu ²⁷ maḥar Da-šu-ru-um ²⁸ maḥar Sin-ri-me-ni ²⁹ maḥar

Be-li-zu-nu ³⁰ maḥar La-ma-zi ³¹ maḥar ^dA-a-ši-ti ³² maḥar
 Hu-šu-tum ³³ maḥar ^dNINNI-AMA-MU

TRANSLATION. 1-18 $\frac{1}{8}$ GAN XXV SAR of field, in the march of Amurum, adjoining the property of Bēlia and Ḳarasumia, is the portion of Asalia with Ilušu-ibišu, son of Bēlia, which Majatum, daughter of Asalia, has rented. That Ilušu-ibišu will not again bring suit against Majatum, he has invoked the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Sumu-la-ilu.

19-33 Before Libit-Ištar, etc.

L. 1. The surface measure was: 1 GAN = 1800 SAR. 1 SAR = 60 gīn. One horizontal wedge + GAN = $\frac{1}{8}$ GAN = 100 SAR. See *TDR*, p. 85. L. 2. ta-ve-ir-tim. "tamirtu, seltener tamartu, die fruchtbare angebaute Umgebung einer Stadt, die Flur," *DHWB*, p. 711. The term may be rendered by "suburbs," "environs," or "march." L. 3. A-mu-ru-um = name of a town, so *CT*, L, 21. mārē A-mu-ru-um = "citizens of Amurum." In several inscriptions it occurs as a personal name; see *RPN*, s.v. "Amurum." L. 11. u-še-ši seems to mean "rent" or "lease." In other contracts it means "receive," "divide," and "take out." Ll. 12-15. ù-la i-ta-ar . . . ù-la e-ra-ga-am = "he will not again bring suit." e-ra-ga-am = i-ra-ga-am. Ll. 16-18. šum . . . it-mā = "he has invoked the name of." The sign mu = šumu could also be transcribed as a preposition niš = "by"; cf. Ungnad, *Assyrische Grammatik*, sec. 56c. *RLBD*, p. 19, renders niš . . . itmū, the spirit? of . . . "they have invoked." itmā = third sing. pret., itmū = third pl. pret. If niš is read then it-mā = "he has sworn." L. 33. ^dNINNI-AMA-MU = ^dIštar-ummi.

II

TIME OF ŠABIUM

CT, II, 3. Bu. 88-5-12, 43 (A priestess buys a field property)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{3}{8}$ GAN eḳel i-na Sippar ^{kl}
² i-ta Ga-mil-Sin mār Šar-ra-nim ³ ù i-ta Ul-lu-mi-ni-ši-ti ⁴ mārāt
 DA-DA-wa-ḳar ⁵ itti Ma-ni-um mār U-bar-ilu-šu ⁶ ù Ul-lu-mi-
 ni-ši-it-ti ⁷ mārāt DA-DA-wa-ḳar ⁸ ^dNu-tu-ub-tum SAL-IŠIB
^dŠamaš ⁹ mārāt DA-DA-wa-ḳar ¹⁰ IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM ¹¹ ŠAM-TIL-LA-
 BI-ŠÚ ¹² KÙ-BABBAR NI-LAL-E ¹³ GIŠ-GÁN-NA IB-TA-BAL (Edge)

¹⁴ INIM-BI AL-TIL ¹⁵ ŠĀ-GA-NI NI-DŪ (Rev.) ¹⁶ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-
LÙ-RA ¹⁷ NU-MU-UN-GÍ-GÍ-DAM ¹⁸ MU ^dŠamaš ^dMarduk ù Ša-bi-
um ¹⁹ IN-PÁ-DÉ-EŠ ²⁰ maḥar Li-bi-it-Ištar šangū ^dŠamaš
²¹ maḥar I-šar-^dŠamaš šangū ^dŠamaš ²² maḥar ^dNIN-ŠUBUR-ba-ni
PA SAL-IŠIB ²³ maḥar I-da-du-um mušēlū ²⁴ maḥar ^dAdad-
ri-me-ni ²⁵ maḥar Bu-la-lum maḥar Warad-^dŠamaš ²⁶ maḥar
Mu-na-nu-um mār Id-di-nu-um ²⁷ maḥar Nu-úr-^dAdad mār
Ba-zi-a ²⁸ maḥar Be-el-šu-nu mār Na-bi-l-lí-šu ²⁹ maḥar Ib-ni-
EN-LIL mār Awil-EN-LIL ³⁰ maḥar ^dA-a-ši-it-ti ³¹ maḥar Ru-ba-
tum mār Iš-me-E-a (Edge) ³² maḥar Hu-šu-tum mārāt U-bar-
ilu-šu ³³ maḥar Amat-^dŠamaš mār[at] Ma-nu-šá-nin-šu ³⁴ maḥar
Gi-me-ia mār Sin-ri[-me-ni] .

(Left Edge) ³⁵ maḥar Ma-ta-ni maḥar Wa-ḫar-tum

mārāt A-bu-um-wa-ḫar mārāt Šá-lim-pa-liḫ-^dŠamaš

ITI TI-RU-UM MU E A-AB-BA-HE-GÁL

TRANSLATION. 1-19 $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{3}{18}$ GAN of field in Sippar adjoining the property of Gamil-Sin, son of Šarranim, and adjoining the property of Ullumišiti, daughter of DA-DA-waḫar, from Manium, son of Ubār-ilušu, and from Ullummišiti, daughter of DA-DA-waḫar, has Nutubtum, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of DA-DA-waḫar, bought. For its full price shall she weigh out silver. He has passed over the bukānu. His claim is ended. His heart is satisfied. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Marduk, and Šabium.

20-38 Before Libit-Ištar, etc.

39 In the month Tīru of the year when the canal Tamtu-ḫegallu [was dug].

L. 1. $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{3}{18}$ GAN. $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} = \frac{1}{3}$ (GAN) $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{3}{18}$ GAN = $\frac{1}{2}$ GAN = 900 SAR; see *TDR*, p. 85. L. 2. Ga-mil-Sin, *RPN* = Bi-laḫ-Sin. L. 5. The last signs in 5, 7, and 32 = remnants of erasures. L. 8. SAL-IŠIB; the sign appears to be composed of SAL + ME = SAL + IŠIB. IŠIB = "priest." SAL-IŠIB = "woman priest," i.e., priestess; see *PMSL*, p. 194. In these tablets three other orders of priestesses are mentioned; but the distinctive characteristics of each are not known. Ll. 10-19. The stereotyped legal terminology in Sumerian, retained in Babylonian documents as Latin in English legal documents. L. 10. IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM. IN = prefix denoting per-

fect tense. Infix *ši-IN* may = *šu-UN* = nasalization of *šu* = "toward." Change of *u* to *i* due to preceding *i* of *IN*. *IN-SI-IN-ŠAM* = *išām*. L. 11. *ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠU* = *ana šimišu gamri*. L. 12. *NI-LAL-E*. *NI* = verbal prefix denoting permansive. *LAL* = "weigh out," "pay." *E* = future. *NI-LAL-E* = *išaḳal*. L. 13. *GIŠ-GÁN-NA IB-TA-BAL* = *bukānam šutuk*. The ceremony here referred to is not known. It is not clear just what the *bukānu* was. The translation, "he has passed over the *bukānu*," is therefore doubtful. Something was apparently handed the purchaser by the owner to signify that the property was legally transferred from the latter to the former. Peiser, *KB*, IV, 11, renders: "Den . . . -Stab hat man hinübergehen lassen." Meissner, *Aus dem altbabylonischen Recht*, p. 6: "Den [Mörser] klöppel hat man hinübergehen lassen"; cf. *MAP*, p. 120; *RLBD*, p. 19: "The *bukānu* has been transferred"; Langdon, *PSBA*, XXXIII, 191: "With the *bukānu* he has been passed over." Langdon, *ZA*, XXV, 208, says: "The earliest occurrence of this phrase is in a record of purchase of slaves by Lugalumuḡal, patesi of Lagash, and contemporary of Naram-Sin, published by F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA*, IV, Pl. X, No. 32. Here the form appears as *GIŠ-A IB-TA-BAL-EŠ*, "with the rod [?] they have been passed over." The Semitic translation has, however, *bukānam šutuk*, *CT*, IV, 33b, 10; VI, 40b, 8. The Sumerian indirect case, *GIŠA*, *GIŠKANNA*, as well as the accusative *bukana(m)*, shows that *bukānu* cannot be subject. Moreover, the plural of *BAL* in the form cited above proves that the slaves or subjects sold are the subject. The two contracts which contain the earliest reference to this ceremony (*RA*, IV, Pl. X, No. 32, and the contract published here) concern the sale of slaves. Moreover, the grammatical commentary in legal texts (*K*, 46, IV, 12) places the explanation of *GIŠKANNA IB-TA-AN-BAL* in a section concerning slavery. The ceremony, therefore, originally pertained to the sale of slaves and meant that the stamp or mark of ownership was changed. The *bukānu* may be a "dye or stamp with a short handle." Mercer, *AJSL*, XXIX, 67, note 1, says: "By the time of the Hammurabi period the use of the *bukānu* had become ritualistically stereotyped, and was common to all kinds of sales." L. 14. *INIM-BI AL-TIL* = *avazu gamrat* = "his claim is ended," i.e., the seller is now through with

the property. INIM="claim of seller in thing sold." AL like NI is a permansive prefix. L. 15. ŠĀ-GA-NI-NI-DU=libbušu t̃āb. NI-DU=NI-DUG; but G at end of a word unless protected by a vowel is dropped. The usual form is AL-DU but AL and NI are interchangeable permansive prefixes. The satisfaction referred to is of course that of the seller. L. 16. U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA=ana' mātēma amēlu ana amēli. L. 17. MU-MU-UN-GI-GI-DAM=la itar. GI=tāru, "turn," "make claim," "bring suit." The force of reduplication in Sumerian is not as yet clear. DAM=verbal prefix of third person. NU-MU-UN-GI-GI-DAM is apparently used in older texts; and GU-NU-MÁ-MÁ-A in later texts. The meaning in each case is the same. L. 19. IN-PÁ-DÉ-EŠ=itmū. L. 22. ^dNIN-ŠUBUR-ba-ni, *RPN*, =^dNIN-ŠAH-ba-ni PA SAL IŠIB="secretary of the priestess." PA=aklu="an official, most probably a scribe," *PMSL*, p. 266. aklu="Schreiber, Schriftkundiger, Gelehrter," *DHWB*, p. 56. L. 23. mušēlu="gate-keeper." Full form=mušēlu sikkati. A synonym=pētū (sikkati); see *DHWB*, p. 62. L. 29. Ib-ni-EN-LIL, *RPN*=Ib-ni-Bēl. Awil-EN-LIL, *RPN*=Awil-Bēl. L. 33. mār=scribal error for mārat. L. 39. TI-RU-UM. In *RLBD* there are two documents, Nos. 35 and 36, apparently duplicates, although differing slightly. In No. 35 the month is PIN-GAB-A=warahsamna=the eighth month. In No. 36, the month is TI-RI-UM. We may then infer that TI-RI-UM=the eighth month. TI-RU-UM=TI-RI-UM; see *RLBD*, p. 24, annotations. E A-AB-BA-HE-GAL. E, the archaic sign, seems to indicate an irrigation ditch; cf. *TDR*, 109, and *PMSL*, p. 92. A-AB-BA=tamtum="ocean." HE-GAL="abundance." Lindl, *BA*, IV, 364: "XIII und XIV Jahr. E wassergraben (*DHWB*, 577a) und Erdwall, Damm (*ibid.*, 51a); vgl. auch *PSBA*, XX, 17, wo Rev. Ball das Zeichen E als Kanal mit einer Schleusse erklärt. Der Name Tāmtu-ḫegallu (tamtū, Meer=A-AB-BA) passt besser für einen Kanal, einen Graben, ein Reservoir. Die vom Verbum erhaltenen Spuren (GAL?) lassen eine sichere Deutung noch nicht zu. Das Datum des XIII Jahres in der (sicher abgekürzten) Fassung MU E A-AB-BA-HEGALLU findet sich auch Bu. 88-5-12, 43 z 39." *KLIH*, III, 222: "MU E A-AB-[BA HE-GALM]-u[N= . . .], The year in which the gulf of the ocean [gave] abundance [. . .]." The date was the thirteenth year of Šabium.

III

CT, IV, 45a. Bu. 88-5-12, 681 (A man buys a field property)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ ²₁₈ GAN ekel i-na ugar A-za-ri-im
² i-ta Nu-úr-lí-lí-šu mār KA-šá-ku-bi ³ ù i-ta A-bi-il-ku-bi mār
 Zi-ik-rum ⁴ SAG-BI DIŠ^{kam} a-na (a) bīt Šu-la-aḫ-bi-im ⁵ SAG-BI
 MIN^{kam} a-na ekel ⁶ šá Na-bi-^dŠamaš u-ši ⁷ itti A-bi-il-ku-bi
⁸ mār Zi-ik-li-im ⁹ ^dA-ḥa-am-ar-ši (i-šá) ¹⁰ IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM (Edge)
¹¹ ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ ¹² KÙ-BABBAR IN-NA-LAL ¹³ GIŠ-GAN-NA IB-
 TA-BAL (Rev.) ¹⁴ INIM-BI AL-TIL U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA ¹⁵ GÙ-
 UM-NU-MÁ-MÁ-A ¹⁶ MU ^dŠamaš ^dMarduk ù Ša-bi-um ¹⁷ IN-PÁ-DA
¹⁸ maḥar Iš-me-Sin mār Gimil-Nu-nu ¹⁹ maḥar ^dNannar-Á-MAḤ
²⁰ mār A-ḥa-am-ir-šu ²¹ maḥar ^dŠamaš-da-ia-an ²² mār Sin-
 ka-ši-id ²³ maḥar Iš-me-Sin ²⁴ mār I-da-na-id (Edge) ²⁵ ma-
 ḥar Sin-i-din-nam ²⁶ mār Iš-me-Sin ²⁷ maḥar Sin-i-din-nam
 mār Ilu[-šu-ra-bi] (Left edge) ²⁸ maḥar Na-bi-lí-šu ²⁹ mār
 A-ḥu-ni ³⁰ maḥar Ilu-šu-ba-ni ³¹ mār ^dNannar-MA-AN-si.

TRANSLATION. 1-17 ²₁₈ GAN of field in the district of Azarim adjoining the property of Nūr-ilišu, son of KÁša-kubi, and adjoining the property of Abil-kubi, son of Ziklum, its one front goes out to the house of Sulakḫim, its other front, to the field of Nābi-Šamaš, from Abil-kubi, son of Ziklum, has Aḥam-arši bought. For its full price has he weighed out to him silver. He has passed over the bukānu. His claim is ended. That in the future one will not bring suit against another, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Marduk, and Šabium.

Before Išme-Sin, etc.

L. 1. ²₁₈ GAN = 200 SAR; cf. No. I, note l. 1. L. 4. SAG-BI DIŠ^{kam}. SAG = pūtum = "front." The a before bīt is a scribal error. There are a number of such errors in this tablet. L. 9. i-šá. The scribe probably intended to write in Semitic i-šá-am; but changed his mind and wrote the Sumerian equivalent, IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM, in the following line. L. 12. IN-NA-LAL = iškul. L. 15. GÙ-UM-NU-MÁ-MÁ-A is a scribal error for GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A = ul iragam. MA(L) = šakānu = "make." The verb is here reduplicated. Final A from an original E denotes future. The change of E to A is due to the preceding A. L. 17. IN-PÁ-DA is a scribal error for IN-PÁ-DE-

EŠ. L. 19. ^dNannar-Á-MAḪ = "with Nannar is he sublime." *RPN* = ^dNannar-DA-MAḪ; see *CT*, VIII, 4a, 20 = ^dNannar-Á-MAḪ. L. 31. ^dNannar-MA-AN-SÌ, *RPN* = ^dNannar-MA-AN-SUM.

IV

TIME OF ABIL-SIN

CT, IV, 33b. Bu. 88-5-12, 580 (A man buys a plot with house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ I SAR X GÌN É-DŪ-A ² i-ta E-ri-ba-am ³ ù ^dŠamaš-a-bu-šu ⁴ itti Pa-ka-i-la ⁵ ^dA-bu-um-wa-ḫar ⁶ mār I-din-Sin ⁷ i-šá-am a-na ši-mi-šu ⁸ ga-am-ri-im ⁹ kas-pam IN-NA-LAL ¹⁰ bu-ka-nam šu-tu-uḫ (Edge) ¹¹ a-wa-zu ga-am-ra-at ¹² a-di wa-ar-ki-at ¹³ um-mi-im (Rev.) ¹⁴ a-wi-lum a-na a-wi-lim ¹⁵ la i-ra-ga-mu ¹⁶ šum ^dŠamaš ^dA-bil-Sin ¹⁷ it-ma ¹⁸ maḫar Bu-nu-MA-MU ¹⁹ mār Di-li-ilu ²⁰ maḫar Šu-ub-na-ilu ²¹ maḫar Ia-daḫ-ilu ²² mārē Ia-ku-ub-ilu ²³ ma-ḫar Sin-i-ḫi[-šá]-am ²⁴ mār A-lu-ka ²⁵ maḫar Na-ra-am-i-li-šu ²⁶ mār Ilu-šu-ba-ni.

TRANSLATION. 1-17 I SAR X GÌN of a plot with house adjoining the property of Ēribam and Šamaš-abušu, from Paka-ila has Abum-waḫar, son of Idin-Sin, bought. For its full price has he weighed out to him silver. He has passed over the bukānu. His claim is ended. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, the name of Šamaš and Abil-Sin he has invoked.

18-34 Before Bunu-MAMU, etc.

This inscription has been edited by Schorr, *SAR*, No. 17.

L. 1. GÌN = a surface measure. I SAR = 60 GÌN. GÌN was also a weight = I mina; cf. No. VI, note l. 10. É-DŪ-A = "bitu epšu (passive intransitive adjective formation like bitu abtu, bitu nadu) designates the ground as far as it is covered by buildings," *PLBD*, p. 4, note. Poebel renders by "built house"; Ungnad, *HG*, III, 66, No. 253 = "bebautes Hausgrundstück"; Schorr, *SAR*, No. 17 = "gebautes Haus"; so Meissner, *MAP*, p. 130, and Daiches, *Alt-babylonische Rechtsurkunden*, p. 50. Langdon, *PSBA*, XXXIII, 190 = "A plot with house," and *ibid.*, p. 241 = "land with house." The exact nature of the É-DŪ-A is not known. Perhaps "a plot with house" fairly well expresses the meaning. Ll. 7-17. The legal terminology is in Babylonian with the exception of IN-NA-LAL.

L. 17. it-ma=third sing. pret. The plural, itmū, would be expected as is usual in such contracts. The singular may mean that each of the contracting parties has sworn, and so itmā is used.
 L. 18. Bu-nu-MA-MU, *RPN*=Bu-nu-ma-ḥir (shar?). MAMU="a dream god." Bu-nu-MA-MU="child of MAMU." L. 23. Sin-i-ki[-šá]-am. By scribal error the šá has been omitted.

V

TIME OF SIN-MUBALLIṬ

CT, II, 4. Bu. 88-5-12, 60 (Inheritance of a plot with house and of a plot without house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ I SAR É-DŪ-A ù KIZ-LAḤ ² ita bīt U-bar-ri-ia ³ ù ita bīt Pu-ṭur-Sin ⁴ šanu-u mu-zu-um a-na sūkim ⁵ zittu ^d ŪR-RA-na-ṣir ⁶ šá itti Sin-i-ki-šá-am ⁷ ù Ib-ni-šamaš ⁸ i-zu-ú-zu ⁹ iš-tu bi-e a-di ḥurāši ¹⁰ zi-zu-u ga-am-rum ¹¹ aḥum a-na a-ḥi-im ¹² ú-ul i-ra-ga-am (Edge) ¹³ MU ^d Šamaš ^d A-a ¹⁴ ^d Marduk ¹⁵ ù Sin-mu-ba-li-iṭ ¹⁶ IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ ¹⁷ maḥar Sin-pu-uṭ-ra-am ¹⁸ maḥar Li-bu-ra-am ¹⁹ maḥar Sin-ma-gir ²⁰ maḥar Sin-i-din-nam ²¹ maḥar Warad-l-lí-šu ²² maḥar Šá-^d Iš-ḥa-ra ²³ maḥar Warad-^d MAR-TU ²⁴ maḥar Sin-ilum ²⁵ maḥar Li-bur-na-di-šu ²⁶ MU ID TU-TU-ḤE-GAL

TRANSLATION. 1-16 I SAR of plot with house and of plot without house, on the one side adjoining the house of Ubarija, and on the other side adjoining the field of Puṭur-Sin, the second exit being toward the street, is the inheritance portion of ŪR-RA-naṣir which he received by division with Sin-iḫīšam and Ibni-Šamaš. From chaff to gold, the division is completed. That one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Sin-muballit.

17-25 Before Sin-putram, etc.

26 In the year when the canal Tutu-ḥegal [was dug].

This inscription has been edited by Schorr, *SAR*, No. 20.

L. 1. KIZ-LAḤ. *PLBD*, p. 12, note, says: "KIZLAḤ, KI-KAL, or KI-GAL (pronounced with nasalization KANKAL), and KI-SHUB-BA have practically all the same meaning of uncultivated ground, or ground not covered with buildings, against É-DŪ-A, built house or land covered by buildings. The identity of the first two terms can

hardly be doubted, since both are rendered with *teriktu* and *nidūtu*, but it is no less certain that *nidūtu* is the direct translation of *KI-SHUB-BA*." Like *É-DŪ-A* the exact meaning of *KIZ-LAH* is obscure. The rendering "plot without house" is given as a possible meaning. Other interpretations are *SAR*, No. 20: "Ödlandsgrund"; *HG*, III, 16, No. 39: "Speicher?"; *DAR*, p. 12: "Hochland?"; *MAP*, No. 20: "Hochland"; Langdon, *PSBA*, XXXIII, 236: "demolished house"; Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, VIII, 73: *É-KISLAH* = *maškanum* = "grenier" = "storehouse." L. 4. *šan-u-u mu-zu-um* = "the second exit." It is also possible to transliterate the Babylonian: *II ammatu* = "two ells exit"; so *SAR*, No. 20, and Ungnad, *HG*, III, 16, No. 39. L. 9. *iš-tu bi-e a-di ħurāši* was formerly rendered "from mouth to gold," with the idea that the transaction from the oral agreement to the payment had been settled. The word *bi-e*, however, is not from *pū*, "mouth," but from *pū* = "threshed straw," "chaff." The expression "from chaff to gold" means that from the least valuable to the most valuable, that is, completely, has the division been made; cf. *ACD*, p. 789; *HG*, V, 119. L. 16. *IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ* = a later form of *IN-PÁ-DÉ-EŠ*. The *ME* = "to be many." L. 26. *KLIH*, III, 226 (Chronicle of Sin-muballit), renders: "MU (ID) (DINGIR) TU-TU-ĦE-GAL MU-UN-BA-AL. The year in which the canal named Tutu-ĥegallu was dug"; *ibid.*, note 26: "Upon contract tablets the formula for this year is generally abbreviated to MU(ID) TU-TU-ĦE-GAL." It corresponds to the thirteenth year of his reign. Lindl, *BA*, IV, 350, renders: "13 MU NĀR ¹¹TU-TU-ĦEGALLU MU-UN-BA-AL, 13. Jahr, da er den Kanal Tutu (oder Marduk)-ĥegallu gegraben."

VI

CT, IV, 20a. Bu. 88-5-12, 285 (A priestess buys a plot with house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ XIV GAN É-DŪ-A ita bīt Sa-ab-tum ² ù ita bīt Ib-ni-^dŠamaš ³ itti Nu-ru-um-li-zi ⁴ mār Sin-i-ki-šá-am ⁵ ^dĦu-šu-tum SAL-IŠIB ^dŠamaš ⁶ mārāt Ib-ni-^dŠamaš ⁷ i-na šá-me-ri-šá ⁸ IN-ŠI-ŠAM ⁹ SAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ ¹⁰ IV GIN KŪ-BABBAR IN-NA-LAL (IN-NA-LAL) (Edge) ¹¹ GIŠ-GÁN-NA IB-TA-BAL ¹² INIM-BI AL-TIL ¹³ U-KŪR-ŠÚ LŪ-LŪ-RA (Rev.) ¹⁴ GU-NU-UM MÁ-MÁ-A ¹⁵ MU ^dŠamaš ^dA-a ^dMarduk

U. 10. 10. 10.

¹⁶ ù Sin-mu-ba-li-iṭ ¹⁷ IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ ¹⁸ maḥar Sin-i-ki-šá-am
 mār I-bi-^dŠU-BUR ¹⁹ maḥar Ū-la-^dŠamaš mār Ib-ni-^dŠamaš
²⁰ maḥar Ū-šur-a-wa-at-^dŠamaš ²¹ mār ^dŠamaš-HE-GAL ²² maḥar
 Ni-id-nu-šá ²³ mār Sin-e-ri-ba-am ²⁴ maḥar Sippar^{kl}-šadi-i
²⁵ mār UH-KI-ia ²⁶ MU BAD EREŠ-KI

TRANSLATION. 1-17 XIV GAN of plot with house, adjoining the house of Šabtum and adjoining the house of Ibni-Šamaš, from Nurum-Izi, son of Sin-iḫišam, has HUŠutum, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Ibni-Šamaš, with her ring-money bought. For its full price has she weighed out to him IV GIN of silver. He has passed over the bukānu. His claim is ended. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Sin-muballit, they have invoked.

18-25 Before Sin-iḫišam, etc.

26 In the year when the wall of Ereš [was built].

L. 1. XIV GAN so the text. GAN may be a scribal error for SAR. It hardly seems possible to have such an extensive "plot with house" as XIV GAN implies. It might be possible to read: I BUR-GAN (=a whole GAN) and four subdivisions of a GAN. L. 7. šá-me-ri-šá="her ring-money." *DAL*⁴, p. 189: "šemiru (albabyl. ševeru, šaveru) Ring (Fingerring)." In these contracts it appears to have the meaning "ring-money," i.e., the private money belonging to a woman. L. 10. GIN=šiklu= $\frac{1}{60}$ mina. 1 šiklu=180 še. IN-NA-LAL repeated by mistake. L. 18. I-bi-^dŠU-BUR, *RPN*=I-bi-^dNIN-ŠAH. L. 26. *KLIH*, III, 226 (Chronicle of Sin-muballit): "MU BAD EREŠ(KI) BA[-RU]. The year in which the wall of Ereš was built"; *ibid.*, note 37: "The tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 285, is dated in this year under the abbreviated formula MU BAD EREŠ(KI)." It corresponds to the fifteenth year of his reign. Lindl, *BA*, IV, 350: "15 MU BAD NANGA^{kl} BA-RU. 15. Jahr da er die Mauer von Nanga gebaut"; *ibid.*, p. 336: "XV Jahr. Das Datum dieses Jahres in der verkürzten Fassung: MU BAD NANGA^{kl} trägt Bu. 88-5-12, 285."

VII

CT, II, 26. Bu. 91-5-9, 332 (A priestess buys a plot with house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ II $\frac{1}{2}$ SAR VIII GIN É-DŪ-A ² ita
 bīt E-ri-ib-Sin mār KÁ-šá-UH-KI ³ ù ita bīt A-ta-ma-ra-as mār

Ha-ia-ab-ni-ilu ⁴ ù ita sūki bīt-su SAG-BI sūku ita ^dBU-NI-NI
⁵ itti Amat-^dŠamaš SAL-DIŠ ^dŠamaš mārat Ga-mi-lum ⁶ ^dLa-ma-
 zi SAL-DIŠ ^dŠamaš mārat KA-šá-UH-KI-ma ⁷ i-na šá-me-ri-šá
 IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM ⁸ ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ KÙ-BABBAR IN-NA-AN-LAL ⁹ GIŠ-
 GÁN-NA IB-TA-BAL ¹⁰ INIM-BI AL-TIL ŠÀ-GA-NI NI-DŪ ¹¹ U-KÚR-ŠÚ
 LÙ-LÙ-RA ¹² GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A ¹³ MU ^dŠamaš ^dA-a ^dMarduk
¹⁴ ù Sin-mu-ba-li-iṭ ¹⁵ IN-PÁ-DÉ-EŠ (Rev.) ¹⁶ maḥar A-wi-il-
 ili mār Ku-bu-tum ¹⁷ maḥar Sin-e-ri-ba-am mār ^dNannar-LU-TI
¹⁸ maḥar Sin-pu-uṭ-ra-am mār Ma-ni-um ¹⁹ maḥar Sin-e-ri-ba-am
 mār I-ku-bī(KA)-šá ²⁰ maḥar Ibiḫ-^dAdad mār Na-ra-am-ī-lī-šu
²¹ maḥar ^dŠamaš-nu-úr-ma-tim mār ^dŠamaš-sad-i-ī-lī ²² maḥar
 Nu-úr-ī-lī-šu mār Warad-^dGIR ²³ maḥar EN-LIL-a-bu-um mār
 KA-šá-UH-KI ²⁴ maḥar Šá-ma-ia mār It-ti-ili-iš-di ²⁵ maḥar
 Ib-ga-tum mār Sin-e-ri-ba-am ²⁶ maḥar Lu-uš-ta-mar-Sin mār
 I-lī-i-din-nam ²⁷ maḥar ^dŠamaš-na-šir mār E-ri-ba-am ²⁸ maḥar
^dŠamaš-na-šir mār Na-ra-am-ī-lī-šu ²⁹ maḥar ^dŠe-rum-ī-lī maḥar
^dŠamaš-šad-i-ī-lī ³⁰ mārē Sin-illat ³¹ maḥar É-A-HE-GÁL mār Nu-
 úr-Sin (Edge) ³² maḥar Sin-i-din-nam dup-sar ³³ ITI ŠE-ḲIN-KU
 U VIII ^{kam} ³⁴ MU ^dŠamaš ^dAdad.

TRANSLATION. 1-15 II½ SAR VIII GIN of plot with house,
 adjoining the house of Ērib-Sin, son of KAša-UH-KI, and adjoining
 the house of Atamaras, son of Haiabni-ilu, and adjoining the lane
 of his house, the front being the lane adjoining the property of
 BUNINI, from Amat-Šamaš, the priestess of Šamaš, the daughter of
 Gāmilu, has Lamazi, the priestess of Šamaš, the daughter of KAša-
 UH-KI, with her ring-money bought. For its full price has she
 weighed out to her silver. She has passed over the bukānu. Her
 claim is ended. That in the future one will not bring suit against the
 other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Sin-
 muballit.

16-32 Before Awil-ili, etc.

33-34 On the eighth day of Adar in the year in which [Sin-
 muballit . . .] for Šamaš and Adad [. . .].

L. 4. BUNINI = horse driver of Šamaš. L. 5. SAL-DIŠ =
 some kind of a priestess. The meaning of DIŠ is unknown. We
 have already had another kind of priestess in SAL-IŠIB, No. II,
 l. 8. L. 6. The ma at end of line is not found in other passages

where this name occurs. L. 23. EN-LIL-a-bu-um, *RPN* = Bēl-a-bu-um. L. 34. *KLIH*, III, 228 (under nineteenth year of Sin-muballit's reign): "MU(DINGIR) UTU [(DINGIR) MER . . .]. The year in which the gods Šamaš and Ramman"; *ibid.*, note 40: "The formula for this year has been partially restored from the dates upon Bu. 88-5-12, 157 and Bu. 91-5-9, 332 which read MU (DINGIR) UTU (DINGIR) MER." Lindl, *BA*, IV, 367 (in referring to Bu. 91-5-9, 332, line 34): "Einzelne Zeugennamen sind die nämlichen wie auf Kontrakten des 13. und 14. Jahres." Lindl groups this tablet among contracts (p. 367) "welche sich in der Datenliste nicht unterbringen lassen."

VIII

CT, II, 36. Bu. 91-5-9, 377 (A man buys a plot without house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ I SAR É-KI-GÁL ² ita bīt A-ba-tum ³ ú ita bīt I-din-Šamaš ⁴ SAG-BI DIŠ^{kam} Sa-ri-ḫum ⁵ SAG-BI MIN^{kam} Ū-tul-^dMa-mi ⁶ itti Sin-še-me mār Na-ra-am-É-a ⁷ ^dIb-ni-^dMAR-TU mār Ū-tul-^dMa-mi ⁸ IN-ŠI-ŠAM ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ ⁹ KÙ-BABBAR IN-NA-AN-LAL ¹⁰ GIŠ-GÁN-NA IB-TA-BAL ¹¹ INIM-BI AL-TIL ŠĀ-GA-NI AL-DŪ ¹² U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA (Edge) ¹³ GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A (Rev.) ¹⁴ šum ^dŠamaš ^dMarduk ¹⁵ ^dSin-mu-ba-li-iṭ ¹⁶ ù ^dSippar^{ki} it-mu-ú ¹⁷ maḥar Na-bi-l-lí-šu mār Warad-i-li-šu ¹⁸ maḥar ^dNANNA-SAG-KAL mār Ibiḫ-Ištar ¹⁹ maḥar Bu-ri-ia mār E-ri-ba-am ²⁰ maḥar I-din-^dŠamaš mār Sin-i-din-nam ²¹ maḥar Ip-ku-šá mār Sa-li-a ²² maḥar Šá-ba-la-tum mār Ibiḫ-Ištar ²³ maḥar Li-bi-it-Ištar mār Im-gur-rum ²⁴ maḥar Sin-ri-me-ni mār E-ri-ib-Sin ²⁵ maḥar Be-el-šu-nu mār ŪH-KI-rabi (Edge) ²⁶ maḥar E-ri-ba-am dup-sar (Left-hand edge) ²⁷ maḥar Sa-ri-ḫum mār Sin-ub-lam ²⁸ [maḥar] LŪ^d[] mār ^dNannar-MA-AN-SI

TRANSLATION. 1-16 I SAR of plot without house adjoining the house of Abatum, and adjoining the house of Idin-Šamaš, one front being the property of Sariḫum, the other front being the property of Utul-mami, from Sin-šemē, the son of Narām-Ea, has Ibni-MAR-TU, the son of Utul-mami, bought. For its full price has he weighed out to him silver. He has passed over the bukānu. His claim is

ended. His heart is satisfied. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Marduk, Sin-muballit, and Sippar.

17-28 Before Nābi-ilišu, etc.

L. 1. É-KI-GÁL appears to have about the same meaning as KIZ-LAH = "plot without house"; cf. No. V, note l. 1. *HG*, III, 69, No. 264 = "Hausgrundstück KI.GÁL"; *DAR*, p. 47 = "Haus im Tiefland"; see *MAP*, p. 121. L. 4. SAG-BI DIŠ^{kam}; cf. No. III, note l. 4. L. 18. ^dNANNA-SAG-KAL, *RPN* = Nannar-asharid?

IX

CT, IV, 44b. Bu. 88-5-12, 677 (A priestess buys a plot without house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ ½ SAR V GIN É-KI-GÁL ² EGIR bīt ^dBu-l-lī ³ ù ita bīt ^dŠamaš-i-te-e ⁴ itti ^dŠamaš-i-te-e ⁵ mār Su-na-bu-um ⁶ ^dLa-ma-zi SAL-DIŠ ^dŠamaš mārāt ^dBu[-l-lī] ⁷ IN-ŠI-ŠAM ŠAM-TIL-LA[-BI-ŠÚ] ⁸ KÙ-BABBAR IN-NA-AN-LAL ⁹ GIŠ-GÁN-NA IB-TA-BAL ¹⁰ INIM-BI AL-TIL ¹¹ ŠÀ-GA-NI NI-DŪ ¹² U-KÚR-ŠÚ-LÙ-LÙ-RA (Edge) ¹³ MU ^dŠamaš ^dMarduk ¹⁴ ù Sin-mu-ba-li-it (Rev.) ¹⁵ maḥar KA-ša-^dŠamaš ¹⁶ mār Sin-AN-DUL ¹⁷ maḥar Ī-lī-i-din-nam mār En-nam-Sin ¹⁸ maḥar KA-ša-^dŠamaš mār A-bu-um-wa-ḫar ¹⁹ maḥar KA-ša-^dŠamaš mār Hur-za-nim ²⁰ maḥar Sippar-šadi(KUR)-i mār ²¹ maḥar EN-LIL-a-bu-um ²² dup-sar

TRANSLATION. 1-14 ½ SAR V GIN of plot without house, the rear being the house of Bu-ili, and adjoining the house of Šamaš-itē, from Šamaš-itē, son of Sunabum, has Lamazi, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Bu[-ili], purchased. [For its] full price has she weighed out to him silver. He has passed over the bukānu. His claim is ended. His heart is satisfied. That in the future one [will not bring suit] against the other, the name of Šamaš, Marduk, and Sin-muballit [they have invoked].

15-22 Before KAša-Šamaš, etc.

L. 2. We should expect EGIR-BI = "its rear"; cf. SAG-BI, No. III, note l. 4. L. 12. By mistake the scribe has omitted after l. 12, GŪ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A, and after l. 14, IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ. L. 16. Sin-AN-DUL. AN-DU = šalūlu, šulūlu = "shadow," "protection."

X

CT, IV, 45b. Bu. 88-5-12, 689 (Two men buy a plot with house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ I SAR É-DŪ-A ² ita bīt Nu-
 úr-^dŠamaš ³ mār Ku-un-nim ⁴ ù ita bīt I-bi-^dNIN-ŠU-BUR
⁵ mār KA-šá-^dŠamaš ⁶ SAG-BI DIŠ^{ka-m-ma} bīt Da-ak-sa-tum
⁷ mār^{at} KA-šá-^dŠamaš ⁸ mu-zu-šu a-na sūḫ Ištar ⁹ itti Na-ra-
 am-i-li-šu ¹⁰ ù ^dNIN-ŠU-BUR-ba-ni ¹¹ ^dU-bar-^dŠamaš ù Im-gur-
 Sin ¹² IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM (Edge) ¹³ ŠAM-TIL-LA[-BI-ŠU] ¹⁴ KÙ-BAB-
 BAR IN-NA-AN-LAL (Rev.) ¹⁵ GIŠ-GÁN[-NA IB-TA-BAL] ¹⁶ ŠĀ-GA-
 NI [AL-DŪ] ¹⁷ INIM-BI AL[-TIL] ¹⁸ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA ¹⁹ GÙ-
 NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A ²⁰ šum ^dŠamaš ^dMarduk, Sin-mu-ba-li-iṭ ²¹ ù
^dSippar^{ki} ²² it-mu-u ²³ maḥar I-bi-^dNIN-ŠU-BUR ²⁴ mār I-ku-
 bi-šá ²⁵ maḥar ^dŠamaš-ta-tum mār EN-LIL-LA-ME-GIM ²⁶ maḥar
 Sin-i-din-nam ²⁷ mār Ū-ṣur-a-ma-aš-ši (Edge) ²⁸ maḥar Li-bi-
 it-EN-LIL ²⁹ mār šeš-DÚ-GÁ ³⁰ maḥar Warad-Sin mār ERI-
^dNANNA (Left-hand edge) ³¹ maḥar ^dNannar-MA-AN-si dup-sar

TRANSLATION. 1-22 I SAR of plot with house adjoining the house of Nūr-Šamaš, son of Kunnim, and adjoining the house of Ibni-NIN-ŠUBUR, son of KAša-Šamaš, its one front being the house of Daksatum, daughter of KAša-Šamaš, its exit being toward the street of Ištar, from Naram-ilišu and NIN-ŠUBUR-bani, has Ubar-Šamaš and Imgur-Sin purchased. [For its] full price has he weighed out to him silver. He has passed over the bukānu. His heart [is satisfied]. His claim [is ended]. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Marduk, Sin-muballit, and Sippar.

23-31 Before Ibi-NIN-ŠUBUR, etc.

L. 4. I-bi-^dNIN-ŠU-BUR, RPN = I-bi-NIN-ŠAH. Ll. 12 ff. There are two buyers and sellers but the verbs and suffixes in the Sumerian are in the singular. The legal terms were so stereotyped as to be unchangeable. L. 21. The determinative before Sippar is al+ki. It apparently has the same force as al.

XI

TIME OF HAMMURABI

CT, II, 7. Bu. 88-5-12, 175 (A priestess buys a field property)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ $\frac{2}{18}$ GAN ekel i-na ugarim Nu-
 ² ù AN-ZA-KAR ma-la ma-zi-a-at ³ ita Šu-mu-ḥu-um mār
 Am-ri-i-lī-šu ⁴ ù ita ekel Ma-ri-be?-li?-šu ⁵ SAG-BI DIŠ^{kam} ḥar-
 ḥar-ri-tum ⁶ SAG-BI MIN^{kam} ekel In-ba-tum ⁷ mārāt Mu-da-
 du-um ⁸ ka-ar-ba-nam a-na ḥar-ḥar-ri-tum ⁹ iz-zu-uk ¹⁰ itti
 Ib-ku-šá mār ÛR-ÛR-ḥa-zi-ir ¹¹ ^dBe-el-ta-ni SAL ^dŠamaš ¹² mārāt
 Il(u)-bī-Sin (Edge) ¹³ i-na ḤAR-KÙ-BABBAR IN-ŠI-ŠAM ¹⁴ XV
 GÍN-KÙ-BABBAR (Rev.) ¹⁵ IN-NA-AN[-LAL] ¹⁶ GIŠ-GÁN-NA IB-TA-
 BAL ¹⁷ INIM-BI AL-TIL ŠÀ-GA-NI AL-DÛ ¹⁸ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÛ-LÛ-RA
¹⁹ GÛ-NU-MÁ-MÁ-A-A ²⁰ MU ^dŠamaš ^dA-a ^dMarduk ²¹ ù Ḥa-am-
 mu-ra-bi IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ ²² maḥar Sin-ra-bi mār Û-ṣur-bi(KA)-
^dŠamaš ²³ maḥar -um mār Gimil-^dMAR-TU ²⁴ maḥar Sin-
 i-din-nam mār Še-li-bu-um ²⁵ maḥar Awāt-^dNannar-? ²⁶ mār
 Zi-li-lum ²⁷ maḥar Mār-Ištar-mār Šu-mu-ḥu-um ²⁸ maḥar UḤ-
 KI (Edge) ²⁹ maḥar Ḳi-iš-tum mār ^d. . . . ³⁰ maḥar
^dŠamaš-i-in-ma-tim ³¹ mār Sa-ga-pu-pu (Left-hand edge) ³² maḥar
 KA-šá-^dŠamaš ³³ MU ID Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi

TRANSLATION. 1-21 $\frac{2}{18}$ GAN of field in the march of Nu-
 and AN-ZA-KAR, as much as there is found, adjoining the field of
 Šumuḥum, son of Amri-ilišu, and adjoining the field of Māri-bēlišu, its
 one front being the ditch, its second front being the field of Inbatum,
 daughter of Mudadum, he has placed a dam at the ditch, from
 Ibkuša, son of ÛR-ÛR-ḥazir, has Bēltāni, priestess of Šamaš, daughter
 of Il(u)-bī-Sin, bought with her ring-money of silver. She has
 weighed out to him XV gín of silver. She has passed over the
 bukānu. His claim is ended. His heart is satisfied. That in the
 future one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the
 name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Hammurabi.

22-32 Before Sin-rabi, etc.

33 In the year when the canal of Hammurabi [was dug].

L. 2. AN-ZA-KAR is unknown. The context implies that it was
 some kind of land that could not be cultivated in its whole extent.
 It may have been marsh land. It apparently was not so valuable as

the ugaru. Jensen, *KB*, II, 212, note 7, has shown that AN-ZA-KAR = dimtu = "tower." Such a meaning does not seem to fit here. In *CT*, II, 44, l. 10, occurs an-zag-gar-ki which probably means "tower"; cf. *Bab. Exped. Univ. Penn.*, Series A, XIV, 58, and XV, 56, where 'za-ḳar^{ki} is apparently a place-name. L. 5. Ḥar-ḥar-ri-tum probably means a "ditch," "run," or "canal." The root seems to be ḥarū, *DHWB*, 289. L. 8. ka-ar-ba-nam. In *DHWB*, 352, kirbānu = "Schutzwehr" = "dam," "dike." Some such meaning fits here. In *CT*, II, 5, l. 7, occurs ki-ir-ba-nam, which may be another form of ka-ar-ba-nam; see *DAR*, p. 46, note. Ll. 8 and 9 are an addition describing the property. L. 9. iz-zu-uk appears to be from nasāku = "setzen," "einsetzen," "legen," "thun," *DHWB*, p. 472. L. 11. SAL ^dŠamaš = "woman of Šamaš" = "priestess of Šamaš." We have already had SAL-IŠIB, No. II, l. 8, and SAL-DIŠ, No. VII, l. 5. The exact nature of each order of priestess is not known. L. 25. The signs after Nannar are not clear. In *CT*, II, 15, l. 21, the name Nannar-tum is found. L. 33. *KLIH*, III, 232, note 49 (Chronicle of Ḥammurabi): "Reference is made to the digging of canals by Ḥammurabi in the formulae both for this [the ninth] year and for the thirty-third year of his reign. Many contract tablets are dated MU-ID Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi. The year of the Ḥammurabi-canal." The tablets so dated may be referred to either of these years. Lindl, *BA*, IV, 352: "9 MU nār Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL. 9 Jahr, da er den König-Ḥammurabi-Kanal—"; *ibid.*, 352: "33 MU nār Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi (mu-ḥu-uš ni-ši?), 33 Jahr, da er den Kanal 'Ḥammurabi ist der Segen des Volkes.'" Lindl, *ibid.*, 372, supposes that Ḥammurabi like Samsuiluna dug two canals bearing his name: one of ninth year and another of thirty-third year with MU-ḤU-UŠ NI-ŠI. Lindl assigns Bu. 91-5-9, 362 to the canal of the thirty-third year, and Bu-88-5-12, 175 to the ninth year.

XII

CT, IV, 25a. Bu. 88-5-12, 318 (A woman buys a plot without house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ ²/₃ SAR VII ¹/₂ GIN É-KIZ-LAḤ
² ita bīt A[-ḥu]-um-wa-ḳar mār E-tel-bī(KA)-Sin ³ ù ita bīt
 A-bil-lí-šū mār I-din-^dŠamaš ⁴ SAG DIŠ^{ka-ma} Ū-la-^dŠamaš mār

I-din-Šamaš⁵ itti Ū-la-Šamaš mār I-din-Šamaš⁶ I-na-libbi-ir-ši-id mārat A-bil-l-lī-šu⁷ i-na ḪAR KÙ-BABBAR-ŠÁ IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM⁸ ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ⁹ II¹/₂ GÌN XXII¹/₂ ŠE KÙ-BABBAR¹⁰ IN-NA-AN[-LAL]¹¹ INIM-BI AL[-TIL]¹² ŠÀ-GA-NI AL-DŪ (Edge)¹³ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA¹⁴ GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A (Rev.)¹⁵ MU Šamaš^dA-a^dMarduk¹⁶ ù Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL¹⁷ IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ¹⁸ maḫar Šá^dA-a mār E-tel-bi-Sin¹⁹ maḫar A-si?-nu mār Ḫa-lilum²⁰ maḫar E-ri-zu-ma-tum mār Warad-Sin²¹ maḫar La-a-lum mār Ma-ti-ilu²² maḫar Ub-bu-ki-ia mār Nu-úr-ŠEŠ-ḫa-ra²³ maḫar U-zi-bi-tum mār²⁴ maḫar Ib-ga-tum mār Sin-a-bu-šu²⁵ maḫar Šu-mi-ir-ši mār A-ḫa-am-kal-lim²⁶ maḫar^dNannar-MA-AN-si mār A-bil-ili (Edge)²⁷ araḫ isinni^dAdad ūmu X^{kam}²⁸ šattu Anu^dIštar ù^dNa-na-a.

TRANSLATION. 1-17 ²/₃ SAR VII¹/₂ GÌN of plot without house adjoining the house of Aḫum-waḫar, son of Etelbi(KA)-Sin, and adjoining the house of Abil-ilīšu, son of Idin-Šamaš, one front adjoining the property of Ula-Šamaš, son of Idin-Šamaš, from Ula-Šamaš, son of Idin-Šamaš, has Ina-libbi-iršid, daughter of Abil-ilīšu, with her ring-money of silver bought. For its full price 2¹/₂ GÌN 12¹/₂ ŠE of silver has she weighed out to him. His claim is ended. His heart is satisfied. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Ḫammurabi, the king, they have invoked.

18-26 Before Ša-Aja.

27-28 The tenth day of the month of the feast of Adad, the year of Anu, Ištar and Nana.

L. 2. A[-ḫu]-um-wa-ḫar. It is also possible to insert A[-bu]-um-wa-ḫar. L. 19. A-si?-nu, RPN = A-lu-nu. L. 28. The date appears to be the thirty-fourth year of Ḫammurabi. *KLIH*, III, 237, note 69: "34 MU ANA (DINGIR) NIN[NI (DINGIR) NA-NA-A]. This line is restored from the date upon Brit. Mus., No. 33222 (B. 65); Bu. 88-5-12, 318 gives the slightly variant form MU ANA (DINGIR) NINNI U (DINGIR) NA-NA-A. A fuller form of the same date is found upon the 'case' of Brit. Mus., No. 33230 (B. 73) which reads MU Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL-E ANA (DINGIR) NINNI (DINGIR) NA-NA-A MU-UN-DIM-MA. The year of Ḫammurabi, the king, in which for Anu, Ištar, and Nana was built (. . .). The name of the

temple which was built, or repaired, during this year in honor of these deities is supplied by the following formula from Brit. Mus., No. 33219 (B. 62), MU Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL-E ANA (DINGIR)NINNI (DINGIR)NA-NA-A-A-E-NE-BI-TA E-TUR-KALAM-MA MU-UN-GI-A-AN. The year of Ḫammurabi, the king, in which for Anu, Ištār, and Nanā the temple E-tur-kalama was restored." Lindl, *BA*, IV, 332: "34 MU An Ištār (il Na-na-a) 34 Jahr, da er Anu, Ištār, Nana []; cf. *ibid.*, p. 372

XIII

CT, II, 14. Bu. 88-5-12, 291 (A woman buys a plot without house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ IV SAR É-KIZ-LAH ² ita bīt ³ Šamaš-tab-ba-šu ⁴ mār Sin-a-bu-um ⁵ ù ita bīt Di-zi-ia mār Ma-ni-um ⁶ wa-ar-ka-su Be-el-šu-nu mār A-ḫi-šá ⁷ ù ita bīt Tar-ga-ni-in amat ēkallim ⁸ itti Be-te-tum mārat Bur-tum ⁹ Be-li-zu-nu mār[at] Šamaš-rē'ū ¹⁰ IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM ¹¹ ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ ¹² KÙ-BABBAR IN-NA-AN-LAL (Edge) ¹³ GIŠ-GÁN-NA IB-TA-BAL ¹⁴ INIM-BI AL-TIL ¹⁵ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA ¹⁶ GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-E-A ¹⁷ MU Šamaš A-a Marduk ¹⁸ ù Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi ¹⁹ IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ ²⁰ maḥar Warad-za mār A-ia-ar-ilim ²¹ A-na-Šamaš-te-ir ²² amē rē'ū ²³ A-wi-il-ili ²⁴ mārē Tab-ba-Wa-di-im ²⁵ maḥar Šamaš-lu-mur ²⁶ mar I-lí-i-din-nam ²⁷ maḥar U-bar-um mār Ilu-šu-ba-ni ²⁸ maḥar Ibiḫ-A-a (Edge) ²⁹ mār Ni-id-nu-um ³⁰ maḥar Be-li-tum mār[at] Sin-ellat-zu ³¹ maḥar Kib-lum mār Ilu-ni-ilu (Left-hand edge) ³² maḥar Eriš-ti-A-a maḥar ÛR-RA-ga-mil ³³ maḥar Sin-i-din-nam maḥar La-ma-zi mār[at] Nu-um-x-ilu ³⁴ MU PIN RA TAB MI

TRANSLATION. 1-18 IV SAR of plot without house adjoining the house of Šamaš-tabbašu, son of Sin-abum, and adjoining the house of Dizia, son of Manium, its rear being the property of Bēlšunu, son of Aḫiša, and adjoining the house of Targanin, maid-servant of the palace, from Betetum, daughter of Būrtum, has Bēlizunu, daughter of Šamaš-rē'ū, bought. For its full price has she weighed out to her silver. She has passed over the bukānu. Her claim is ended. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Ḫammurabi.

19-31 Before Waraza, etc.

32 The year PIN RA TAB MI.

L. 5. Last sign probably a remnant of an erasure. L. 8. mār should be mārāt. L. 15. gù-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-E-A. Final A = relative. The preceding E = future. L. 22. Ta-ba-Wa-di-im = "friend of Wadim." Wadim = a divinity. RPN = Ta-ba-pi-di-im. L. 28. mār should be mārāt. L. 30. Eriš-ti-^dA-a; see PSPN, p. 14, note 2. L. 32. The date is unknown; see Lindl, BA, IV, 375: "MU PIN? RA TAB? MI."

XIV

CT, II, 42. Bu. 91-5-9, 2174A (A priestess buys date palm orchards)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ XII kirū gišimmari ² ita kiri Ri-iš-^dŠamaš EGIR-^dŠamaš ³ mārāt Sa-a-la ⁴ SAG-BI MIN^{kam} Gi-ru-um ⁵ itti Ri-iš-^dŠamaš mār[at] Sa-a-la ⁶ ^dA-ḫa-ta-a-ni SAL-IŠIB ^dŠamaš ⁷ mārāt Ma-ru-um ⁸ i-na šemiri-šu IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM ⁹ ŠAM[-TIL]-LA-BI-ŠÚ ¹⁰ KÙ-BABBAR-AM IN-NA-AN-LAL ¹¹ ŠĀ-GA-NI AL-ṭa-ab ¹² GIŠ-GÁN-GÁN [IB]-TA-BAL ¹³ INIM-BI AL-TIL (Edge) ¹⁴ Û-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-ŠÚ ¹⁵ GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A (Rev.) ¹⁶ MU ^dŠamaš ^dMarduk ¹⁷ ^dḪa-am-mu-ra-bi ¹⁸ maḫar Am-ri-i-li-šu mār Na-ra-am-E-a ¹⁹ maḫar Ia-ti-ilu mār A-bil-Sin ²⁰ maḫar I-bi-^dŠamaš maḫar E-tel-lum-^dŠamaš ²¹ mārē Bu-zi-ia ²² I-zi-za-ri-e ²³ E-ri-ib-Sin mār Sa-a-šá-bi ²⁴ maḫar Ma-nu-um mār Sin-i-din-nam ²⁵ maḫar I-tur-a-aš-du-um mār Ilu-šu-ba-ni ²⁶ maḫar I-lf-ia-bu-Sin ²⁷ maḫar E-ri-ib-Sin mār ²⁸ maḫar ^dŠamaš-bi-ni-bī(KA)-ia (Edge) ²⁹ maḫar Di-ma-ḫu-um ³⁰ maḫar Ri-iš-^dŠamaš (Left-hand edge) ³¹ maḫar I-lu-ni-ia

TRANSLATION. 1-17 XII orchards of date palms adjoining the orchard of Riš-Šamaš, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Šāla, its second front being the property of Girum, from Riš-Šamaš, daughter of Šāla, has Ahātāni, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Marum, with her ring-money bought. For its full price has she weighed out to her silver. Her heart is satisfied. She has passed over the bukānu. Her claim is ended. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, [they have invoked] the name of Šamaš, Marduk, Ḫammurabi.

18-31 Before Amri-ilišu, etc.

L. 1. "XII orchards of date palm"—so the text. It seems very possible that SAR has been omitted after XII. This mistake was easily made, for one of the component signs of kiru is SAR. Hence we should read XII SAR of date palm orchard. L. 2. EGIR seems to resolve itself into TUM-SAL-IŠIB and designates some order of priestesses. L. 5. Ri-iš-^dŠamaš is here called a son (mār) of Sa-a-la, but in l. 2, a daughter (mārat) of Sa-a-la. The text in l. 5 should then probably be corrected so as to read daughter (mārat) instead of son (mār). L. 8. The suffix in šemiri-šu is masculine, where we should have the feminine šemiri-ša. Instead of reading šemiri-šu, we should probably read the Sumerian ĦAR-šu. L. 10. The scribe intended to write KŪ-BABBAR, but after writing this, he changed his mind and added -am, giving the Babylonian kaspam. This mixture of Sumerian and Babylonian Semitic occurs occasionally in the same word; cf. next note, l. 11. L. 11. AL-ṭa-ab. The scribe began to write AL-DŪ, but changed his mind after writing AL, and gave the Semitic ṭa-ab, hence we have the curious combination of a Sumerian prefix AL=permansive+the Semitic permansive ṭa-ab. L. 12. The second GAN should be NA. IB must be supplied before TA-BAL. L. 14. The last sign ŠÚ is a mistake for RA. The ŠÚ in first half of line caused the error. L. 17. IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ must be supplied after l. 16. L. 22. I-zi-za-ri-e; cf. CT, II, 24, ll. 4 and 6.

XV

CT, II, 28. Bu. 91-5-9, 338 (Settlement of a partnership business)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ ^dE-ri-ib-Sin ² ù Nu-úr-^dŠamaš ³ tap-pu-tam i-pu-šu-ma ⁴ a-na bīt ^dŠamaš i-ru-bu-ma ⁵ ṭe-im-šu-nu i-pu-šu-ma ⁶ kaspam(-am) ba-ab-tam SAG GEME ù SAG-ERI ⁷ šá ĥa-ra-nim ù li-bi a-li-im ⁸ mi-it-ĥa-ri-iš i-zu-zu-ma ⁹ a-wa-tu[-šu]-nu ig-mu-ru-ma ¹⁰ a-na kaspim (kaspam-am) SAG-ERI ¹¹ ù SAG-GEME ù ba-ab-tim ¹² šá ĥa-ra-nim ù li-bi a-li-im ¹³ iš-tu bi-e a-di ĥurāši (Edge) ¹⁴ a-ĥu-um a-na a-ĥi-im ¹⁵ ú-ul i-ra-ga-am ¹⁶ MU ^dŠamaš ^dA-a ^dMarduk (Rev.) ¹⁷ ù Ĥa-am-mi-ra-am IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ ¹⁸ maĥar A-wi-il-ilim mār Ku-bu-tum ¹⁹ maĥar Bur-^dAdad mār Ia-ba?-du-um ²⁰ maĥar Sin-e-ri-ba-am mār Ū-ku-ka-šá ²¹ maĥar Sin-lu-ud-lu-ul mār A-wi-il-ilim ²² maĥar

I-din-^dŠamaš mār Zi-li-lum ²³ maḥar Ib-ni-^ùR-RA mār E-tel-bi (KA)-^ùR-RA ²⁴ maḥar Nu-^ùr-^dNIN-GIR mār ^dŠamaš-na-^šir ²⁵ maḥar Lu-uš-ta-mar-Sin mār I-lf-i-din-nam ²⁶ maḥar Sin-ma-gir mār Ilu-še-me ²⁷ maḥar ^ùR-RA-ga-mil maḥar Šá-ma-ia ²⁸ mārē Iš-ki-it-ti-i-li-ia ²⁹ maḥar Mu-pa-^{hi}-ru-um mār I-di-ia ³⁰ maḥar Ib-ga-tum mār Sin-e-ri-ba-am ³¹ maḥar mār-Sippar^{ki} mār KA-šá-^dŠamaš ³² maḥar Sin-^{ha}-zi-ir mār A-da-ia (Edge) ³³ maḥar Ri-iš-^dAdad mār Be-el-^{šu}-nu ³⁴ maḥar ^dŠamaš-i-din-nam mār Sin-be-el-ablim

TRANSLATION. 1-17 Ērib-Sin and Nūr-Šamaš had conducted a business on a partnership basis, and then entered into the temple of Šamaš and made their reckoning, and the money, debts, female and male slaves, what of the way as well as within the city, they equally divided, and they settled up their business. That in regard to money, male and female slaves, and debts, what of the way as well as within the city, from chaff to gold, one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Hammurabi.

18-34 Before Awil-ilim, etc.

This inscription has been edited by Schorr, *op. cit.*, No. 35.

L. 6. ba-ab-tam probably means "debts," or "losses." SAR No. 35 = "die offenen Schulden." In Hammurabi Code, it means "blemish," "defect," or "injury." L. 9. ^{šu} before nu has been omitted by mistake. L. 10. kaspam(-am) is a scribal error and should be omitted. It is a case of dittography. L. 13. The first sign of last word is omitted. L. 16. The determinative before Marduk is mu. It should be ilu. L. 17. ^{Ha}-am-mi-ra-am = error for ^{Ha}-am-mu-ra-bi.

XVI

TIME OF SAMSUILUNA

CT, IV, 11b. Bu. 91-5-9, 439 (A priestess buys a plot with house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ $\frac{2}{3}$ SAR É-DŪ-A ² DA É ^dAdad-i-din-nam ³ ^ù DA É Ša-bu-lum ⁴ SAG-BI sū^k Mu-zu-um ⁵ ĒGIR-BI É Mār-Sippar^{ki} ⁶ KI I(NIM)^dA-a SAL[-IŠIB ^d]Šamaš ⁷ DUMU-SAL Be[-el-^{šu}-nu] ⁸ ^ù Be-el-^{šu}-nu [TA] ⁹ ^dTa-ra-am-SAG-IL SAL-IŠIB ^dMarduk ¹⁰ DUMU-SAL ^{Ha}-ar-ri-rum ¹¹ IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM ¹² ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ ¹³ ? GÌN-KÙ-BABBAR IN-NA-AN-LAL (Edge) ¹⁴ INIM-BI

AL-TIL ¹⁵ ŠÁ-GA-NI AL-DŪ ¹⁶ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA (Rev.) ¹⁷ GÙ-
 NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A ¹⁸ MU ^dŠamaš ^dA-a ^dMarduk ¹⁹ ù Sa-am-su-i-
 lu-na LU-GAL ²⁰ IN-PÁ-DÉ-ME-EŠ ²¹ maḥar ^dŠamaš-šar-ki-tim
 mār I-ki-šá ²² maḥar Sin-i-din-nam mār Bur-^dAdad ²³ maḥar
 Šá-bu-lum mār A-ḥi-um-mi-šu ²⁴ maḥar Ib-ni-^dAdad mār Warad-
^dMAR-TU ²⁵ maḥar I-din-Sin mār Nu-úr-^dŠamaš ²⁶ maḥar Nu-
 úr-^dKAB-TA ²⁷ maḥar Ibiḫ-^dAN-NU-NI-TUM dup-sar (Edge) ²⁸ ITI
 DUZU-E U VII ^{kam} ²⁹ MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-GE

TRANSLATION. 1-20 $\frac{2}{3}$ SAR of plot with house adjoining the house of Adad-idinnam and adjoining the house of Šabulum, its front being the street of Muzum, its rear, the house of Mār-Sippar, from I(NIM)-Aja, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Bēl-šunu, and Bēl-šunu, has Taram-SAG-IL, priestess of Marduk, daughter of Harrirum, bought. For its full price has she weighed out to them ? GIN of silver. Their claim is ended. Their heart is satisfied. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Samsuiluna, they have invoked.

21-27 Before Šamaš-sar-kitim, etc.

28-29 On the seventh day of the month Tammuz in the year when the portable (?) throne.

This tablet appears to be wholly in Sumerian.

L. 2. DA=ita. L. 4. sūḫ muzum="street of Muzum," assuming muzum to be a proper name. If muzum is an adjective then sūḫ muzum="exit street," but this does not seem probable. L. 8. [TA] appears to fit the mutilated sign in the text. TA=post-position="from," and goes with KI, l. 6. KI+TA="from place of"="from possession of"="from." L. 29. MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-GE. *PLBD*, p. 69, section 48 Tell Sifr: "5 MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARAGE MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA=the fifth year in which after having made a portable(?) throne." The date corresponds to the fifth year of Samsuiluna's reign. The exact nature of the GIŠ-GU-ZA-BARA is not known. BARA="throne," "sanctuary," *PMSL*, p. 55. Perhaps the expression means throne of the sanctuary. *KLIH*, p. 242: "The year in which the throne of the shrine was made."

XVII

CT, II, 5. Bu. 88-5-12, 155 (A priestess buys a field)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ BUR GAN ekel i-na ugarim Iṣ-ṣi-
tim ² i-ta ekel Ta-li-ib-ni SAL^dŠamaš ³ mārat Mu-tu-ba-ni
⁴ ù i-ta ekel Ni-ši-in-ni SAL^dŠamaš ⁵ mārat Ū-ṣur-bī-Ištar
⁶ SAG-BI nār Za-bi-um ⁷ ki-ir-ba-nam a-na nāri Id-ki ⁸ SA-KU-
BI ekel Ta-li-ib-ni SAL^dŠamaš ⁹ mārat Mu-tu-ba-ni ¹⁰ a-na būri
šá Ta-mi-tim ù-ul ìb-ba-al-ki-it ¹¹ i-na nam-ka-ri-šá ù ma-na-ti-šá
¹² i-ma-ak-ka-ra ¹³ itti ^dA-a-be-li-it-ni-ši SAL^dŠamaš ¹⁴ mārat Lu-
ud-lu-ul-EN-LIL (Edge) ¹⁵ ^dIl-ta-ni SAL^dŠamaš ¹⁶ mārat A-bil-i-
li-šu (Rev.) ¹⁷ i-na ḤAR KÙ-BABBAR-šá IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM ¹⁸ ŠAM-TIL-
LA-BI-ŠÚ AŠ MA-NA KÙ-BABBAR ¹⁹ IN-NA-AN-LAL ²⁰ INIM-BI AL-
TIL ŠĀ-GA-A-NI AL-DŪ ²¹ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA GÙ-NU-MÁ-MÁ-A
²² MU ^dŠamaš ^dA-a ^dMarduk Sa-am-su-i-lu-na LUGAL ²³ IN-PÁ-DÉ-
ME-EŠ ²⁴ maḥar Awil-ili mār Ilu-a-bi ²⁵ maḥar ^dŠamaš-ḥa-zi-ir
mār Ilu-šu-ib-ni ²⁶ maḥar Ilu-šu-ib-ni mār Warad-^dNannar
²⁷ maḥar Warad-za-a mār Ilu-ra-bi ²⁸ maḥar ^dŠamaš-ba-ni mār
Gi-mil-lum ²⁹ maḥar Be-la-nu-um mār ^dAdad-i-din-nam ³⁰ maḥar
Ri-iš-^dŠamaš mār Ilu-šu-ib-ni ³¹ maḥar Nūr-^dA-a dup-sar ³² ITI
SU AZAK XXVI ^{kam} ³³ MU Sa-am-su-i-lu-na LUGAL-E ³⁴ UGNIM
KA-AŠ-ŠU.

TRANSLATION. 1-23 A whole GAN of field in the march of Iṣitim, adjoining the field of Tali-ibni, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Mutu-bāni, and adjoining the field of Niši-Ini, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Uṣur-bī-Ištar, its front being the river Zabium, the dam being at the river Idki, its rear(?) being the field of Tali-ibni, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Muti-bani, to the well of Tamitim one will not cross, from her run and her watering-trough one will water, from Aja-bēlit-niši, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Ludlul-EN-LIL, has Iltāni, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Abil-ilišu, with her ring-money bought. For its full price has she weighed out to her I mana silver. Her claim is ended. Her heart is happy. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, Samsuiluna, the king.

24-31 Before Awil-ili, etc.

32-34 On the twenty-sixth of the month SU AZAK, in the year in which Samsuiluna after having . . . the hordes of the Kaššū

L. 1. BUR GAN=a whole GAN=1800 SAR; cf. *TDR*, p. 85, No. 509. L. 7. ki-ir-ba-nam a-na nāri Id-ki="the dam being at the river Idki." It is possible that ki-ir-ba-nam may be accusative, the direct object of id-ki. Id-ki as verb is unknown. It may mean "put," "construct." One constructed a dam at the river. The ending am in ki-ir-ba-nam is not conclusive, as case-endings are not always observed in this period; cf. note on ka-ar-ba-nam, No. XI, l. 8. L. 8. sa-KU-BI is unknown. It apparently means "its rear" or "its side." L. 10. ib-ba-al-ki-it=IV¹ from בלכת, *DHWB*, 175. L. 11. nam-ka-ri-šá from בטר. It may mean "run." ma-na-ti-šá may be related to unūtu, and so may designate some vessel used in drinking, perhaps "a watering-trough." L. 12. i-ma-ak-ka-ra is not probably third fem. plural, but third masc. singular. The ending a is added in co-ordinate clauses. Ll. 33-34. The date is the ninth year of Samsuiluna. *KLIH*, III, 242: "MU UMMAN KA-AŠ-ŠU. The year in which the army of the Kassites"; *ibid.*, note 81, p. 243: "This early reference to the Kassites during the period of the First Dynasty is of great interest"; *PLBD*, 72: "MU UGIM KA-AŠ-ŠU. The year in which Samsuiluna after having . . . the hordes of the Kaššū"; *ibid.*, note 4: KI-^{8U}LÚB-GAR=UGNIM.

XVIII

CT, IV, 18a. Bu. 88-5-12, 274 (A man buys a plot with house)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ ½ SAR É-DŪ-A i-na Sippar rabim
² ita bīt Be-li-lu-da-ri ³ ù ita bīt I-lí-i-din-nam mār KA-šá-
 nu-nu ⁴ SAG-BI DIŠ^{kam-ma} I-din-^dŠamaš mār AZAG(KÙ)-^dNIN-ì-SI-
 IN-NA ⁵ SAG-BI MIN^{kam-ma} sūḫ^d. . . . ⁶ itti I-din-Sin mār
⁷ ^dI-lí-i-din-nam mār [KA-šá]-nu-nu ⁸ IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM ⁹ ŠAM-TIL-
 LA-BI-ŠÚ ¹⁰ V GÌN KÙ-BABBAR IN-NA-AN-LAL (Edge) ¹¹ ŠÀ-GA-
 A-NI AL-DŪ (Rev.) ¹² INIM-BI AL-TIL ¹³ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA
¹⁴ GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A ¹⁵ šum ^dŠamaš ^dMarduk ù Sa-am-su-i-na
 LUGAL ¹⁶ it-mu-ú ¹⁷ maḥar Ū-zi-bi-tum mār KA-šá-^dNIN-TU
¹⁸ maḥar ^dŠu-i-bi mār KA-šá-Nu-nu ¹⁹ maḥar I-din-^dŠamaš mār

AZAG(KÙ)-na-tum ²⁰ maḥar I-bi-Sin mār Sin-i-din-nam ²¹ ITI
ABA-E-A ²² MU Sa-am-su-i-lu-na LUGAL ²³ MU US-SA III EGIR
Á-ÁG-GÁ

TRANSLATION. 1-16 $\frac{1}{2}$ SAR of plot with house in great Sippar, adjoining the house of Bēli-ludari, and adjoining the house of Ili-idinnam, son of KAŠa-Nunu, its one front being the property of Idin-Šamaš, son of AZAG(KÙ)-^dNIN-I-SI-IN, its other front being the street . . . , from Idin-Sin, son of . . . , has Ili-idinnam, son of [KAŠa]-Nunu, bought. For its full price has he weighed out to him V GIN of silver. His heart is satisfied. His claim is ended. That in the future one will not bring suit against the other, they have invoked the name of Šamaš, Marduk, and Samsuiluna, the king.

17-20 Before Ūzi-bītum, etc.

21-23 The month of Tebetū in the third following year in which Samsuiluna, the king, after having . . . upon the oracle. . . .

L. 15. By mistake lu is omitted in Samsuiluna. Ll. 21-23. The date corresponds probably to the thirty-first year of the king's reign. *KLIH*, III, 246: "30 MU UŠ-SA-UŠ-SA ID-AG-G(A) (DINGIR) ENLIL. The second year after that in which the oracle of Bēl (was given)." The year in the inscription before us seems to have followed this year, and so was the thirty-first; cf. *PLBD*, p. 78.

XIX

CT, IV, 19b. Bu. 88-5-12, 282 (A priestess buys a field property)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ ? GAN eḫel i-na ugarim ??-nu-
ta ² ita eḫel Ka-lu-mu-um(tum) ³ ù i-ta eḫel Ka-lu-um-tum
SAL-IŠIB ^d[Šamaš] ⁴ mārat Il(u)-bī(KA)-^dŠamaš ⁵ SAG-BI
DIŠ ^{kam-ma} E-GIŠ-ŠAR ⁶ SAG-BI MIN ^{kam-ma} Bi-nu-um ⁷ itti Ma-
an-na-šu mār Ibiḫ-ANTUM ⁸ ù Be-la-nu-um mār Sin-še-mi ⁹ ^dKa-
lu-um-tum SAL-IŠIB ^dŠamaš ¹⁰ mārat Sin-še-mi ¹¹ i-na ḤAR
KÙ-BABBAR-ŠÁ IN-ŠI-IN-ŠAM (Edge) ¹² ŠAM-TIL-LA-BI-ŠÚ ¹³ VI
²/₃ GIN-KÙ-BABBAR (Rev.) ¹⁴ IN-NA-AN-LAL INIM-BI AL-TIL ¹⁵ ŠÀ-
GA-NI AL-DŪ U-KÚR-ŠÚ LÙ-LÙ-RA ¹⁶ GÙ-NU-UM-MÁ-MÁ-A ¹⁷ šum
^dŠamaš ^dA-a ^dMarduk ¹⁸ ù Sa-am-su-il-lu-na it-mu-ú ¹⁹ maḥar
Sin-be-el-ab-li mār Sin-ma-gir ²⁰ maḥar Sin-ella(t)-zu mār Sin-i-
din-nam ²¹ [maḥar] Ib-ku-šá mār EN-LIL-ba-ni ²² [maḥar] ^dŠamaš-
ra-bi mār Sin-i-din-nam ²³ maḥar ^dBu-ni-ni-ma-ti mār Sin-?

²⁴ maḥar Ni-id-nu-šá mār I-din-^dŠamaš (Edge) ²⁵ ITI KAN-KAN
E U X^{kam} ²⁶ ? ? ? ²⁷ ? ?

TRANSLATION. 1-18 ? GAN of field in the territory of
-nuta adjoining the field of Kalūmuum, and adjoining the field
of Kalūmtum, priestess [of Šamaš], daughter of Ilubī(KA)-Šamaš,
its one front being the E-GIŠ-ŠAR, its other front being the prop-
erty of Binum, from Mannašu, son of Ibiḫ-ANTUM, and Bēlānum,
son of Sin-šemi, has Kalūmtum, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Sin-
šemi, bought with her ring-money. For its full price has she weighed
out to him VI $\frac{2}{3}$ GIN of silver. His claim is ended. His heart is
satisfied. That in the future one will not bring suit against the
other, the name of Šamaš, Aja, Marduk, and Samsuiluna, they
have invoked.

19-24 Before Sin-bēl-ablim, etc.

25 Tenth day of the month in which the KAN-KAN appears.

L. 2. The last sign should be omitted. It is probably the rem-
nant of an erasure. L. 3. The name of the god has been omitted
after SAL-IŠIB. It should be Šamaš as l. 9 shows. L. 5. E-GIŠ-
ŠAR probably means garden canal. L. 7. Ibiḫ-ANTUM, RPN =
Ibiḫ-iltum. L. 25. The date is unknown; cf. Lindl, BA, IV,
381.

XX

CT, II, 22. Bu. 91-5-9, 301 (Settlement of a partnership business)

TRANSLITERATION. (Obv.) ¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ MA-NA kaspim šá ùR-RA
[-ga-mil] ² a-na E-ri-ib-Sin ³ a-na tab-ba i-di-nu ⁴ ù $\frac{1}{2}$ MA-NA
ta-a-an ⁵ ḫi-im-za-tu-šu-nu ⁶ a-na bīt ^dŠamaš E-ri-ib-Sin ⁷ mārē
ùR-RA-ga-mil ⁸ mārāte ùR-RA-ga-mil ⁹ ù DAM-A-NI ùR-RA-ga-mil
¹⁰ i-ru-bu-ú-ma ¹¹ ^dE-ri-ib-Sin ¹² ni-ka-zi-šu maḥar ^dŠamaš
i-pu-uš-ma ¹³ $\frac{5}{6}$ MA-NA VII GIN kaspim i-na bīt ^dŠamaš ú-bi-ru-ma
¹⁴ li-bu mārē ùR-RA-ga-mil (Edge) ¹⁵ mārāte ùR-RA-ga-mil
¹⁶ ù DAM-ANI ùR-RA-ga-mil ¹⁷ ^dE-ri-ib-Sin ¹⁸ ú-ti-ib ¹⁹ ú-ul
i-tu-ru-ú-ma ²⁰ a-na E-ri-ib-Sin ²¹ iš-tu bi-e a-di hurāšim
²² ú-ul i-ra-ga-mu?? ²³ maḥar Ga-mil-Sin mār Sin-be-el-i-lí
²⁴ maḥar Būr-^dAdad mār Ḫa-du-um ²⁵ maḥar Sin-na-ši-ir maḥar
KA-šá-^dŠamaš ²⁶ maḥar mārē Ḫu-ur-za-nim ²⁷ maḥar Ma-an-
ni-ia mār I-bi-ḫ-Ištar ²⁸ maḥar Be-el-šu-nu mār Ma-an-nu-um-ki-

ma-i-li-ia ²⁹ maḥar Ibiḫ-^dAdad ³⁰ mār Na-ra-am-i-lī-šu ³¹ maḥar
Nu-úr-i-lī-šu mār Ū-ku-un-KA-šá ³² maḥar Warad-Sin mār Sin-
ga-mil

TRANSLATION. 1-22 $\frac{1}{2}$ MANA silver which ŪR-RA-gāmil had given to Ērib-Sin for a partnership business, and $\frac{1}{2}$ MANA being the share of each of them. Into the house of Šamaš went Ērib-Sin, the sons of ŪR-RA-gāmil, the daughters of ŪR-RA-gāmil, and the wife of ŪR-RA-gāmil. Ērib-Sin rendered his account before Šamaš, and they in the house of Šamaš adjudged $\frac{5}{8}$ MANA VII GIN silver. The heart of the sons, daughters, and wife of ŪR-RA-gāmil, Ērib-Sin made glad. From chaff to gold they shall not again bring suit against Ērib-Sin.

23-32 Before Gāmil-Sin, etc.

This tablet has been edited by Schorr, *op. cit.*, No. 70. It is undated, but as the family of ŪR-RA-gāmil and Ērib-Sin occur in a lawsuit in *CT*, II, 46, which is dated in the reign of Sin-muballit, we may date *CT*, II, 22, in the same reign.

L. 3. TAB-BA = "partnership business," "profit-sharing business." L. 4. TA-A-AN has a distributive idea. L. 5. ḫi-im-za-tu is unknown. It may have the meaning of "share," or "portion"; *SAR*, No. 70: "der Betrag ihrer Streitsumme"; Ungnad, *HG*, III, 19: "ihr Geschäftskapital." L. 12. Ni-ka-zi-šu, *DHVB*, 463: "Habe," "Vermögen." The context implies some meaning like "account," "reckoning." Codex Hammurabi nik-kassum = "account"; see *MAP*, p. 145, No. 79, note l. 7. L. 13. ú-bi-ru-ma. In Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebrew Lexicon*¹⁴, there is a verb נבא with the meaning "explain," "make clear." In the Codex Hammurabi the same verb occurs with the same meaning, "clearly state." From this idea we may infer the meaning "adjudge." The subject of the verb is the judges.

The VII GIN of silver appears to be the net gain over the $\frac{5}{8}$ MANA ($\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$) which ŪR-RA-gāmil had put into the business.

THE OATH IN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

III. THE OATH IN INSCRIPTIONS SINCE THE TIME OF THE HAMMURABI DYNASTY¹

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Cuneiform inscriptions belonging to this period may be said to contain three classes of literature: poetical, historical, and legal and commercial. The last class will be referred to as "contracts." References to oaths in poetry will not be utilized in this study, first, because of the indefiniteness of such references, and, secondly, because of the uncertainty of the date of such inscriptions. Historical inscriptions of this period contain a few references to sworn contracts. These will be considered in due order. The many curses and blessings found in historical inscriptions of this as well as other periods seem to take the place of the oath. These will be left for future treatment. Letters, which belong partly to historical and partly to legal and commercial literature, frequently contain evidence of sworn contracts. But our real source for the study of the oath in inscriptions since the time of the Hammurabi Dynasty is that great mass of legal and commercial inscriptions which we commonly call contract literature.

I. CONTRACTS

In my study of the contracts I have first divided those containing oaths into classes, such as sales, mortgage, etc. Then those in each class have been arranged chronologically according to the reign in which they occur. The nature of the oath-formula in each reign and class has then been noticed, after commenting upon any peculiarities in the literary construction of the contract. Finally, the deities invoked have been tabulated, first, according to the class of contract, and, then, according to the whole period.

¹ In two previous articles I have discussed the oath in Cuneiform inscriptions. The first appeared in the *JAOS*, XXXIII, Pt. I, "The Oath in Sumerian Inscriptions"; the second in the *AJSL*, XXIX, No. 2, "The Oath in Babylonian Inscriptions of the Time of the Hammurabi Dynasty."

For convenience of treatment and reference, it will be well to divide the contracts since the time of the Hammurabi Dynasty into the following periods: Second to Ninth Babylonian Dynasties; New Babylonian Empire; Assyrian Empire; Persian Period.

SECOND TO NINTH BABYLONIAN DYNASTIES¹

1. SALES

This is the commonest class of contracts which contain a sworn agreement. The structure of these contracts is very uniform. After the subject of the sale and the names of the interested parties are given, there always follows a series of stereotyped phrases similar to those found in contracts of the Hammurabi Dynasty. They are: a-na ši-mi-šu ga-am-ri-im iškul, "for its full price he has weighed out," a certain amount of money being named; a-na ūm arkûti la itûr, "for ever hereafter (so and so) shall not make claim." Then comes the oath-formula which is uniform, with the exception of a variety in the combination and number of the names invoked. The form is usually niš^{11a} itm ū, "by the god they swore." Finally come the witnesses, who are sometimes females, though not as frequently, in proportion, as in the earlier contracts, and occasionally a scribe. It is often stated that the contract is sealed. The interesting ritualistic removing of the bukanu, so common in contracts of the Hammurabi Dynasty, is entirely absent here.

a) *Burnaburiaš* (ca. 1399-1365 B.C.).—From the reign of this prince we have two documents of sale, namely, KU² 433 and 434, both of which are good examples of this class of contract—a class so common in the Hammurabi Dynasty. KU 433 is the sale of a young slave. The price is definitely stated, the conditions enumerated, and then follows the oath-formula. The gods invoked in addition to the king are En-lil, Ninib, and Nusku. There are eight witnesses, and the contract was sealed. KU 434 is also a slave sale. The oath-formula is identical with that in 433. Seven witnesses are present, and the seals of three persons are affixed. It is noteworthy that the gods invoked in these contracts are quite different from those invoked

¹ This includes the Kassite Dynasty.

² Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*.

in contracts of the Hammurabi Dynasty. These contracts come from the Kassite Dynasty. En-lil of Nippur takes the place of Šamaš of Sippar and Larsa, of Marduk of Babylon, and of Uraš of Dilbat. The god of the place where the contract is made is always invoked, sometimes with associated deities. These two contracts were made in Nippur.

The oath-formula in these two contracts is: En-lil, Ninib, Nusku, and king Burnaburiaš.

b) *Kaštiliašu* (1260–1253 B.C.).—KU 1150 records a sale of land. One of the parties to the contract is a priest of Dagan. A provision is made that if the contract is broken a specific punishment will be inflicted. There are seventeen witnesses, among whom are two priests, besides a secretary, and the contract was sealed. The gods invoked, in addition to Šamaš, were Dagan and Iturmer, showing that the contract was made in the country of Hana.

The oath-formula is: Šamaš, Dagan, Iturmer, and King Kaštiliašu.

In the oath-formulae of these sales, as also in those of sales of the Hammurabi Dynasty, the king is always invoked together with the deities.

Following are the formulae in sale contracts of the Second to the Ninth Babylonian dynasties in order of frequency of occurrence: En-lil, Ninib, Nusku, and the king (named); Šamaš, Dagan, Iturmer, and the king (named).

2. ADOPTION

Kurigalzu (ca. 1362–1331 B.C.).—KU 24 is a carefully drawn up adoption contract. A certain woman had no daughter and adopted the daughter of another. The woman agrees to pay an initial fee, and promises that she will not make the girl a servant. If she does so the child will return to her father's house. In case the woman dies, the adopted girl will inherit her property. Should the woman say to the girl, "Thou art not my daughter," she forfeits her fee, and should the girl say, "Thou art not my mother," she becomes a servant. Then follows the familiar phrase of similar contracts of the Hammurabi Dynasty, *amêlu a-na amêli la itûr*, as well as the stereotyped formula of adoption documents, *ûl marišu ummišu*, etc., *iḫ-ta-a-bi*. There were five witnesses.

The oath-formula is: En-lil, Ninib, Nusku, and King Kurigalzu.

Following are the oath-formulae found in contracts belonging to that period covered by the Second to the Ninth Babylonian dynasties:

En-lil, Ninib, Nusku, and the king (named) occurs three times
 Šamaš, Dagan, Iturmer, and the king (named) occurs once

The fact that during this whole period, namely, from the Second to the Ninth Babylonian dynasties, only four sworn contracts are found, and these all belong to the Kassite Dynasty, is due partly to the paucity of such contracts in our possession, but chiefly to the fact that, after the Hammurabi Dynasty, the practice of recording a formal oath began to die out. Instead of the oath-formula, there is the mark of the thumb or finger together with a list of witnesses before whom the contract was made. The document is also carefully sealed. All these precautions, of course, were taken during the Hammurabi Dynasty, but after that period the idea probably grew that a contract thus carefully drawn up did not need the formal recording of an oath. In some contracts of the Hammurabi Dynasty and, as we shall see, of later periods, a malediction (*limun*) seems to take the place of an oath.

The technical oath-formula is the same as that which was most usual in contracts of the Hammurabi Dynasty, namely: *niš^{il}u* *itmû* (MU IN-PAD-DE-EŠ).

NEW BABYLONIAN DYNASTY

1. SALES

Nebuchadrezzar (604 B.C.).—Strassm. Nbk. 103 is a sworn contract of the fourteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar, the subject of which is the sale of a slave. The guaranty of each party to the contract is recorded, and an oath by Bel(=Marduk) is sworn. The technical formula is *ina Bel it-ti-mu*. Here we meet *ina* instead of *niš* for the first time in oath-formulae of contracts. None of the technical expressions common to sales of earlier periods occurs here.

The oath-formula is: Bel(=Marduk).

2. MORTGAGE

Nebuchadrezzar.—Strassm. Nbk. 345 is a note of mortgage on property, belonging to the thirty-ninth year of Nebuchadrezzar, in which the contract is sworn in the name of the gods Marduk and Šamaš. No technical expressions are present.

The oath-formula is: Marduk and Šamaš.

3. DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP

Nebuchadrezzar.—Strassm. Nbk. 116 is a contract drawn up by four persons, in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar, who after a partnership of thirty-one years decided to share results and dissolve. The invocation is rather unusual. It reads MU UN-*pl.* DINGIR *pl.* iz-za-kar, i.e., each party agreed to the contract by invoking the people and the gods.

The oath-formula is: the people and the gods.

4. ADOPTION

Of uncertain date.—Br.M. 84.2-11, 165 (Kohler und Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*, III, 16). Whenever a man adopted a son the latter became full son with right of inheritance. This contract shows that such a transaction was carefully drawn up and an oath was taken by both parties. Here the formula is: niš^{11u} Šamši u . . u Nabû u-ša-az-ki-ir-šu-nu-ti-ma, "by Šamaš and Nabû they cause them to swear."

The oath-formula is: Šamaš and Nabû.

5. LAW-SUIT

Of uncertain date.—Br.M. 84.2-11, 172 (Kohler und Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 73). This is a law-suit in which a man is sued for failure to pay a debt of money. Testimony is given under an oath administered by the judges. The formula is: ni-iš Šamši u-ša-az-ki-ru-šu, "by Šamaš they caused him to swear."

The oath-formula is: Šamaš.

6. MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Nebuchadrezzar.—Strassm. Liverp. 8. A certain young man named Nabû-aḥu-idinna, in the forty-first year of Nebuchadrezzar, asks the hand of Banat-Esagila in marriage. A condition is made

and signed. It provides that if Nabû-aḫu-idinna¹ deserts his wife he will be obliged to pay her an alimony, when she will become perfectly free to go wherever she will. While if Banat-Esagila is found with another man she is to be put to death with an iron dagger. The formula of the oath is: niš Nabû u Marduk ilâni-šu-nu u niš Nabû-kudurri-ušur šarri be-li-šu-nu iz-ku-ru, "they swore by Nabû and Marduk, their gods, and by Nebuchadrezzar, the king, their lord."

The oath-formula is: Nabû, Marduk, and the king (named).

7. BOND

Nebuchadrezzar.—*BE*,¹ VIII, Pt. I, No. 25. This is a contract, of the fortieth year of Nebuchadrezzar, in which a man becomes surety for the appearance of three men to fulfil certain obligations. The time of appearance is specified. The surety swears that he will appear with his men on the specified day. The formula is: ina En-lil u NINIB it-ti-me, "by En-lil and Ninib he swore." Notice the use of *ina* instead of *niš* as in Strassm. Nbk. 103. Both belong to the reign of Nebuchadrezzar.

The oath-formula is: En-lil and Ninib.

8. SIMPLE CONTRACT OF PAYMENT

Nebuchadrezzar.—*BE*, VIII, Pt. I, No. 26. In the forty-second year of Nebuchadrezzar, a certain man agreed to pay a certain amount for grain. The formula is: ina Bêl (=Marduk) šarri it-ti-me. Note the use of *ina* again in the same reign.

The oath-formula is: Bêl (=Marduk) and the king.

The oath-formulae of contracts of all kinds of the New Babylonian Empire are:

Bêl (=Marduk)	occurs as a formula once
Bêl (=Marduk) and the king	" " " "
Šamaš	" " " "
Šamaš and Nabû	" " " "
Marduk and Šamaš	" " " "
En-lil and Ninib	" " " "
Nabû, Marduk, and king (named)	" " " "
People and the gods	" " " "

¹ *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.*

The prominent place in this period is occupied by the three gods Marduk, Šamaš, and Nabû.

The stereotyped phrases characteristic of contracts of earlier periods no more occur. As has been seen, very few of the many contracts, belonging to the time of the New Babylonian Empire, contain a formal oath. Most, however, are signed and many are sealed in the presence of witnesses, and some contain a malediction. These latter devices seem to have usurped the place of the formal oath.

ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

1. ROYAL CONTRACTS

a) *Adad-Nirari IV* (810 B.C.).—KUA¹ 1 is a royal contract so broken that the contents cannot be well determined. It, however, seems to contain an oath. Although there is no word for swear, the following phrase beginning with *niš* is undoubtedly an oath-formula: *niš* ^{11u}Ašur^{sur} ^{11u}Ša-maš u ^{11u}E[n-li]l ^{11u}Iš-tar Aš-šú-ri-te ^{11u}Adad ^{11u}Nergal ^{11u}Ninib ù ^{11u}Sibi^{b1} naphar ilâni^{meš} an-nu-te rabûte^{meš} Šá^{ma}Aššur, "by Ašur, Šamaš, Enlil, the Assyrian Ištar, Adad, Nergal, Ninib, and the seven deities, all these great gods of Assyria." The succeeding clause contains a direct malediction. This contract thus marks the transition from the stereotyped oath-formula to the direct malediction which in late contracts so often takes the place of the oath. KUA 4 contains the same abbreviated form of the oath, namely, [*niš* ^{11u}Ašur^{sur}] ^{11u}Adad ^{11u}Be-ir [^{11u}Iš-tar Aš]-šú-ri-tú, "by Ašur, Adad, Bêr, and the Assyrian Ištar." An instructive example for the identity of curse and oath in late contracts is seen by a comparison between Nbk. 164, 37, and Cyrus 277, 16 ff. (KB, IV, 278): *ana la enê niš Nabû*, etc., *iz-ku-ru*, "in order not to invalidate they swore by Nabû," etc.; *ša dabâbu annâ inû Anu, Enlil u Amal (=Ea) arrassu marruštu lirur*, "whoever tries to make this suit invalid, may Anu, etc., curse him with an evil curse."

b) *Tiglath-Pileser III* (745 B.C.).—KUA 8 is another fragment with the abbreviated oath-formula. The oath-formula is not

¹ Kohler and Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig, 1913.

completely preserved. What remains of it is: niš ^{11u}Ašur^{šur} ^{11u}Iš-tar Aš-šú-ri-tu, "by Ašur, the Assyrian Ištar."

c) *Sargon* (722 B.C.).—KUA 10 is a royal property contract in which we have a change in the stereotyped oath-formula. Instead of niš, etc., we have zi-kir ^{11u}A-šur ^{11u}Šà-maš ^{11u}Adad ^{11u}Be-ir (the rest is broken off), the invocation of Ašur, Šamaš, Adad, and Bêr.

d) *Ashurbanipal* (668 B.C.).—KUA 15 is another royal property contract which is sealed and has the usual oath-formula combined with the usual introductory part of a malediction. The curse-formula begins thus: ú-lu-u šarru ú-lu-u rubû šá p[i-i]i da[n-n]i-ti šu-a-tu ú-ša-an-nu-ú, "whoever, whether it be a king or a prince, who changes the contents of this contract"; then instead of specifying the punishment as in the preceding malediction in the same contract, the regular oath-formula follows. This is again an example of the transition from the oath to the malediction as a means of insuring the observance of the contract.

The oath-formula is: Ašur, Adad, Bêr, Enlil of Assyria, and Ištar of Assyria.

e) *Ašur-etil-ilâni* (626 B.C.).—KUA 20 is a royal property contract containing a malediction, and an oath-formula which unfortunately has been broken off. The remaining part reads: ni-iš ^{11u}Ašur^{11u}. This contract is also of importance because in the body of the text, though in a poor state of preservation, there is a reference to a sworn treaty in the words a-di-e ma-mit¹ (cf. Rassam Cyl., *KB*, II, 162 ff., Col. VII, l. 85).

KUA 21 is another royal property contract, and in it we have another example of the freedom with which the Assyrians treated the technical oath-formula, for instead of niš, etc., we find ina ki-bit ^{11u}Bêl u ^{11u}Nabû (the rest is broken off). Literally it means "by the command of Bel and Nabû," but it clearly takes the place of the regular oath-formula. Further, there is also in this contract a reference to a sworn treaty in the words a-di-i ma-mit, which is equal in meaning to a-di-e-ni-iš (Rassam Cyl., *KB*, II, 162 ff., Col. VIII, l. 45).

¹ This word mamitu is the Assyrian equivalent of the Sumerian nam-erim. For a technical discussion of the word see my book *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, pp. 26 ff.

The oath-formulae in these two contracts are: Ašur; Bel and Nabû. The oath-formulae of royal contracts of the Assyrian Empire in order of frequency of occurrence are: Ašur; Ašur, Adad, and Bêr; Ašur, Adad, Bêr, Assyrian Enlil, and Assyrian Ištar; Ašur, Šamaš, Adad, and Bêr; Ašur, Šamaš, Enlil, Assyrian Ištar, Adad, Nergal, Ninib, and the seven deities, all the great gods of Assyria; Ašur and Ištar of Assyria; Bêl and Nabû.

2. INHERITANCE

Upâk-ana-Arbaïlu (ca. 627 B.C.).—KUA 46 is an inheritance or gift contract in which the oath forms part of the malediction. While the technical malediction names Bêl and Nabû, the oath seems to have been taken in the name of the king only. The whole malediction and oath reads: [šá d]i-ib-bi an-nu-u-te [ib-balkat]-u-ni Bêl ^{11u}Nabû šum-šu ištu ^{mat}Aš-šur [li-ḫ]al-li-ḫu . . . i šarri lu bêl di-ni-šu a-di ša šarri ina ḫâtâ-šu lu-ba-'-i-u, "Whoever changes this agreement, may Bêl and Nabû exterminate his name from Assyria . . . of the king, are indeed his judges. The oath by the king may they demand from him [lit. from his hand]."

3. LAWSUIT

Undated.—KUA 183 is a lawsuit about a slave. No direct oath occurs, but a reference shows that an oath by the king was expected on such an occasion. The phrase is: a[-d]i-i šá ša[rri . . . bê] li(?) -šu [ú-ba]-', "an oath by the king . . . [will he] seek."

KUA 184 also gives evidence that in such contracts an oath by the king was demanded: [a-di-i] šarri(?) ina ḫâtâ-šu ú-ba-'u, "an oath by the king will he demand at his hand."

KUA 185 is a lawsuit in which occurs a phrase showing the absolute need of an oath in such contracts. The phrase is: a-di-i šá šarri lu bêl di-ni-šu, "the oath by the king indeed controls his process [lit. is indeed lord of his lawsuit]."

While there is no independent oath-formula found in these lawsuits, yet it may be assumed that the name of the king, at least, was invoked during the transaction.

4. MORTGAGE

KUA 131 is a mortgage on a field, and contains a similar regulation to that found in the lawsuits. The phrase is: a-di-i(?) ú-ba-'a, "the oath will he seek." The contract is not dated.

The only contracts belonging to the Assyrian Empire thus far published which contain a formal and independent oath-formulae are the royal contracts. Other contracts show that an oath was often taken simply in the name of the king. The oath-formulae in all the royal contracts except two contain the technical term *niš*. The exceptions use *zi-kir* and *ina ki-bit* instead of *niš*. All other contracts containing any reference to an oath use the word a-di-i which indicates the presence of a sworn contract.

In KUA 55 we have an interesting marriage contract, but no oath expression. One of the parties to the contract is assured that the god Šamaš is his judge, being thereby reminded of the importance of faithfulness to his contract. This may indicate that the contract was drawn up in the temple or court of Šamaš, when perhaps an oath was taken.

In many Assyrian contracts there occurs again and again an interesting phrase. It is used in such a stereotyped way that one is led to think that it has some bearing upon the legality of a contract, and, as it occurs so often in the malediction, may be looked upon, in a certain way, as a substitute for an oath, or, at any rate, as a reason why it was felt unnecessary to record the oath that perhaps had been taken. A good example of such a contract is KUA 166. It is a contract about the sale of a slave-wife. After the contract is ended, it is stated that there is now no redress. Then it goes on to say that whoever in future breaks the contract and acts illegally must place a definite amount of money in the lap of a definite goddess. The phrase is: *ina bur-ki* ^{11u}*Nin-gal iš-akan*. In this contract another frequent phrase appears, namely, that a certain price or gift "be bound to the foot" of a definite god. Here the phrase is: *ina šapal* ^{11u}*Sin . . . i-rak-kas*. The phrase occurs very often and indicates that the fine was to be deposited for the use of the temple dedicated to the god named. These two stereotyped phrases often occur in the same contract, as in the

foregoing, but often only the first phrase occurs. The second never occurs alone.

We thus see that out of the many contracts belonging to the Assyrian Empire very few contain an oath-formula. Many of the important ones are sealed before witnesses who are sometimes named, many bear the finger-nail mark as a seal, and many contain a malediction. All these devices gradually took the place of the oath. None of the interesting phrases found in Babylonian contracts are present. The ritual became simpler, the *buḳannu* is no more used, and women do not take such a prominent part as in earlier times. A new set of gods is prominent in these contracts: *Ašû* takes the leading place. *Adad*, *Bêr* (*Labir?*), and the Assyrian *Ištar* become very important, as might be expected.

PERSIAN PERIOD

1. LAWSUITS

Darius (522 B.C.).—Strassm. Dar. 53 is an interesting lawsuit about the escape of a slave, who takes refuge with a certain man who sells him to a banker. The owner of the slave wants legal right to see and examine him so as to identify him. He takes an oath that he knows where the slave is, and is consequently permitted to investigate. The usual formula appears, only instead of *niš* the word *ina* is used. The oath is by *Bêl* and *Nabû*.

Strassm. Dar. 229 contains an oath taken by a certain man that he will appear in court. The formula contains the names of *Bêl*, *Nabû*, and *Darius*. The word *ina* is used.

Strassm. Dar. 260. A certain woman married a second time. Her former dowry she wished to bring to her second husband. A part of the dowry was a slave whom her son, by her first husband, wished to keep for himself. The father-in-law and mother demanded the slave and her children, but meanwhile the slave died. The son returned the dead slave with her children together with a fee. All were then satisfied. To guarantee the continuance of the peace, an oath was sworn by *Bêl*, *Nabû*, and *Darius*, the king, introduced by *ina*. The technical formula is rather unusual. It reads: *ina Bêl Nabû u a-di-i ša Da-ri-'a-uš*, "by *Bêl*, *Nabû* and the oath [or sworn contract] of *Darius*."

Strassm. Dar. 176. This contains a dispute about the payment of a debt in which an oath is taken by Bêl, Nabû, and Darius the king. The introducing word is again *ina*.

Strassm. Dar. 358 is a lawsuit about the transference of corn. There is no word for swear but the formula *mu ilâni* is sufficient to show that an oath was taken. As *mu* is equivalent to *niš* in such a connection, there is no doubt about the oath-formula.

The following are the oath-formulae of lawsuits of the Persian period, in order of frequency of occurrence: Bêl, Nabû, and Darius; Bêl and Nabû; the gods.

2. SHARING OF PROPERTY

a) *Cambyses* (529 B.C.).—Strassm. Camb. 85. This contract is a dispute about a piece of property on the border of Egypt. The oath-formula is partly broken off, but what remains reads: *ina Bêl u Nabû it-ti-mu*.

b) *Darius*.—Br. M. 84. 2-11, 122 (Kohler and Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*, II, 35 f.) is a sworn contract about the sharing of certain property. The parties swear by Bêl and Darius, the king. The word *ina* introduces the oath-formula.

Strassm. Dar. 551 shows that a dispute arose between a man and his elder brother's sons about the division of inheritance. The formula is: *niš Marduk u ^{11u}Zar-pa-ni-tum ili-šu-nu u šum [Da-ri-ia-a]-muš šarri-šu-nu iz-zak-kar*, "by Marduk, Zarpanitum, their gods, and by Darius, their king, they swore." *Šum=mu=niš* in this connection.

The oath-formulae of these contracts are: Bêl and Darius; Marduk, Zarpanitum, and Darius; Bêl and Nabû.

3. RENT

Undated.—Strassm. Dar. 57 is a rent contract between a Median family and a Babylonian. The oath is sworn by Bêl, and probably also by Nabû and the king, but the tablet is broken and only the following fragment of the formula remains: *ina Bêl it-ti-mu*.

VATh 135 (Peiser, *Bab. Verträge*, p. 65) is a contract about the rent of a house. The oath-formula is: *ina [šum] šarri it-ti-mi*.

The oath-formulae of these two contracts are (as far as they are left): Bêl; name of the king.

4. RELEASE

Undated.—*BE*, X, No. 9, is a release given on account of a claim for damages arising from trespass. The payment is made and an oath is taken by the contracting parties. The formula is: ina ilâni u šarri it-ti-mu-ú, "they swore by the gods and the king."

5. DIVORCE

Cyrus (559 B.C.).—*Strassm.* Cyr. 183 is an interesting contract in which a certain young man asks the father of a girl for her hand in marriage. The request was granted after due consultation. The young man, Šamaš-nâdin-šum, then promised under oath that if he ever should divorce Nadâ, his wife, and marry again he would pay Nadâ a definite sum of money as alimony. The father then gave his daughter with a dowry to Šamaš-nâdin-šum. A malediction is invoked on whomsoever in the future might challenge the contract. The gods invoked to curse are: Marduk and Zarpanitum, and as the oath-formula is partly broken off, only in a mu ilâni remaining, we may perhaps conclude that the same two gods, namely, Marduk and Zarpanitum, were invoked in the oath. Notice the use of mu with ina. Either alone would be sufficient to introduce the oath-formula.

6. PARTNERSHIP

Undated.—*BE*, X, No. 55, is an agreement of partnership in a farm. The parties agree to divide equally the profits. The formula is: šarru itti a-ḫa-meš u-šal-lu-ú, "together they invoked the king."

BE, X, No. 44, is another agreement of partnership in a farm. The same oath-formula occurs here: šarru itti a-ḫa-meš u-šal-lu-ú.

7. BOND

Cyrus.—*BE*, VIII, Pt. I, No. 67, contains a surety made by a certain man to pay the debt of a third party. The surety is given under an oath by Cyrus, king of countries. The formula is: ina Ku-ra-aš šar matâti it-ti-me.

8. GENERAL CONTRACTS

a) *Cyrus*.—*BE*, VIII, Pt. I, No. 58, though poorly preserved, contains a very interesting oath-formula. It reads: niš En-lil u NIN-[LIL ilâni] ali-šu-nu zak-ru niš NINIB u Nusku [ra-bi-iš] šul-lum-šu-nu zak-ru niš Ku-ra-aš šar matâti šar šarâni bêli-šu-nu zak-ru, "by Enlil and Ninlil, the gods of their city, they swore; by Ninib and Nusku, the guardians of their peace, they swore; by Cyrus, king of countries, king of kings, their lord, they swore."

b) *Darius*.—Strassm. Dar. 468. This contract contains the following interesting oath-formula: MU DINGIR ina MUL (=kakka-bu) GAL-û (=rabû), "in the name of the god [or Anu?] in [or with?] the great star." The great star would seem to be Jupiter (=Marduk). Anu and Marduk seem to be invoked.

RCT 21 (R. Camp. Thompson Collection, Holt in *AJSL*, XXVII, No. 3, pp. 193 ff.) contains the following formula: niš Bêl Nabû u Da-ri-ia-muš šarri it-ti-me. On the reverse of the same tablet an oath is taken by Bêl and the king, the formula being: ina Bêl šarri it-ti-me. Notice that niš and ina are used in the same inscription to introduce the oath.

Following are the oath-formulae in contracts belonging to the Persian period in order of frequency of occurrence:

Bêl, Nabû, and the king (named)	occurs as an oath-formula 4 times
King (not named)	" " " 3 "
Bêl and Nabû	" " " once
Bêl, Nabû (the rest broken off)	" " " "
Bêl and the king (named)	" " " "
Bêl and the king (not named)	" " " "
Bêl (the rest broken off)	" " " "
Marduk, Zarpanitum, and the king (named)	" " " "
Enlil, Ninlil, Ninib, Nusku, and the king (named)	" " " "
Gods and the king (not named)	" " " "
God and the great star (perhaps Anu and Marduk)	" " " "
Gods (perhaps Marduk and Zarpanitum)	" " " "
Gods	" " " "
King (named)	" " " "

Out of the many contracts belonging to the time of the Persian kings very few, comparatively, contain a direct or formal oath. Many, however, were sealed before witnesses and many contain maledictions and blessings. Others contain the nail mark of the contracting parties and witnesses. Very few technical phrases are used. The introductory word *ina* for *niš* grew in frequency. It is worthy of note that in the Persian contracts *Bêl* (=Marduk) and *Nabû* were the gods most frequently invoked.

II. HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

In no Babylonian historical inscription of the period under consideration has an oath been found. In Assyrian historical inscriptions there are many references to oaths which were sworn and observed or violated. Examples will be found in the text of the Rassam Cylinder (VR) (I, 119, 132; VII, 85, 93; VIII, 50), but on account of the fact that such references do not teach us what the actual oath-formulae were, I have not given them in detail here. Suffice it to conjecture that the regular formula, which we have learned to know from contract tablets, was used. The gods were invoked, and perhaps by name, and also the king. The phrase *ma-mi-it ilâni-ia rabûti u-tam-mi-šu-nu-ti* of the Cylinder Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser, I, Col. V, ll. 14 f., is only one of many of such references which prove that the taking of an oath in treaty was a common practice in Assyrian times. Many curses and blessings are found in the historical inscriptions and these very often, without doubt, took the place of the formal oath.

III. EPISTOLARY INSCRIPTIONS

Here again we have many references to sworn agreements, but on account of the absence of any oath-formula these inscriptions are not very useful for our present study. The Tell el-Amarna tablets,¹ which may be taken to represent this class of literature, contain some interesting references to sworn treaties. I have collected them here not because they throw any independent light upon the technical oath-formula, but because they are interesting. They are:

TA 29: Tušratta to Amenophis IV, No. 3, l. 122, *aḫi-i[a] it-ma-am-ma*, "my brother swore (in treaty)."

¹ Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Vorderas. Bib.), Leipzig, 1907 ff.

TA 67: Only part of the title remains, i.e., "to the king," l. 13, e-te-pu-uš[m]a-mi-ta, "he has made a sworn treaty."

TA 148: Abimilki of Tyre to the king, No. 3, ll. 36-37, la-a it-te-ir ma-mi-ta, "he has not kept the sworn treaty."

TA 149: Abimilki of Tyre to the king, No. 4, ll. 59-60, ù amêlūt alu Ar-wa-da it-mu-ni ù iš-ta-ni ma-mi-ta i-na be-ri-šu-nu, "and the people of Arwarda swore and repeated the oath-treaty with each other."

TA 164: Aziri to Dûdu, No. 2, ll. 39, Ki-i-ia-am tum-ut-ta-mi (read tù-ut-ta-mi?), "so shalt thou swear." (There is another reference in l. 32, but it is broken off.)

To sum up,¹ it may be said that after the time of the First Babylonian or Hammurabi Dynasty the practice of recording a formal oath began to die out and various devices were used as a substitute for the oath. The chief of these substitutes were: The finger-nail mark, the sealing, and, above all, the pronouncing of a conditional malediction or benediction. In contracts of the Second to the Ninth Babylonian dynasties the formula of the oath remained about the same as in those of earlier texts, but, although some of the earlier stereotyped legal phrases continued to be used, there is an evident tendency toward simplicity in the construction of legal documents as well as simplicity in the ritual accompanying the taking of the oath. Contracts of the New Babylonian Empire become still simpler in construction. No stereotyped legal phrases are found and very few formal oaths, but abundant substitutes of the nature of those found in earlier Babylonian periods. Assyria possessed, to a large extent, merely a loan culture, and in keeping with that we find in Assyrian contracts a tendency toward formal construction and the use of stereotyped phrases. However, few formal oaths are found, but many substitutes. As might have been expected, a new set of deities are invoked by contracting parties, the chief of whom are Ašur, Adad, and the Assyrian Ištar. Many Persian contracts have been published but very few of them contain a formal oath: The usual substitutes for the oath are to be found, but none of the technical phraseology of early Babylonian legal contracts remains. The deities most frequently invoked in the oath-formulae of Persian contracts are Bêl (=Marduk) and Nabû.

¹ See the articles referred to in note, p. 210, for summaries of oath-formulae and ritual in earlier periods.

THE BABYLONIAN EQUATIONS FOR SYRIA

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Professor A. T. Clay, in his *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, has discussed at length the meaning of the terms MAR-TU and Amurru used in the Babylonian literature to denote Syria, arriving at the conclusion (1) that MAR-TU^{kl} means "the land of the sunset" = "setting of the sun-god," viz., MAR = mar = אֶרֶב; אֶרֶב; אֶרֶב + TU = erêbu, "enter," "set" (*op. cit.*, 95); and (2) that Amurru is formed from the same stem אֶרֶב-אֶרֶב with the *a*-vowel changed to *u* under the influence of the labial *m* (amar from a mar, *op. cit.*, 104-5).

It is unnecessary to comment on the change from *m* to *w*, as this is a well-known phenomenon and, moreover, it has long been known that Amurru, "Amorite land," was transcribed אֶרֶב in several Aramaean reference notes on clay tablets (*Bab. Exped.*, X, 7 ff.). The question at issue is as to whether the mar in MAR-TU = A-mur-ru (II. R. 50, iii/iv, 57-59 *et passim*) originally contained the element אֶרֶב for the light or the sun-god's name, as Clay believes, and if so, whether MAR-TU could have any other meaning in Babylonian than "setting of Mar" (=sun-god).

It will be observed that Amurru = Syria occurs in the inscriptions equated with six equivalents: (1) A-mur-ru = a-ri, M.5328; (2) = KUR MAR-TU^{kl} (*loc. cit.*); (3) = MAR^{kl}, V. R. 46. 22cd; (4) = ideogr. BURBUR, M.5327; (5) = Ti-id-num (*loc. cit.*); (6) = KUR GIR-GIR (*loc. cit.*).

Of these, the first A-RI certainly supports Clay's view (*op. cit.*, 204) that the mar-mur element = אֶרֶב; אֶרֶב, which is further confirmed by his comparison of proper names compounded with Amar-Amur- (*op. cit.*, Index, 209, and especially on the name Marduk, 116 ff.). I may also add the equation ar = AR = namâru, "shine," B.9425, which is apparently an association with mar in its evident sense of light. With regard to MAR-TU, the discussion is more complicated, because MAR-TU has three meanings in Babylonian;

viz., (1) = *Amurru* (as above); (2) = *abûbu*, "storm," "flood," M.4136; F.2994; evidently from *MAR-TU* = *Adad* (= *IM*) *ša abûbi*, "A. of the storm flood" (cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 39; 76: *Amurru* = *IM*, "lord of the mountains"); and (3) *MAR-TU* = *kamâru*, "overthrow," M.4138. The meanings "storm" and "overthrow" are clearly allied. We may also note *MAR-TE* = *abûbu*, B.5833¹; M.4150, with the well-known change of *u* to *e* between *Eme-Ku* and *Eme-Sal* in Sumerian, as in *TU-XU* = *TE-XU* = *summatu*, "dove." There is no doubt that *MAR-TU* is a Sumerian combination used ideographically with the value *Amurru*, as we find *MAR-TU-am* = *Amurra-am*, *Réc. de Tablettes*, 124, Plate 57, rev. col. i. In II. R. 35, 19: (*MAR*)-*TU-u* is undoubtedly to be read *Amurru-u*. The equation of *MAR-TU* with *IM* = *Adad* seems to indicate that the god of the West was a storm-deity as well as a light-god, or else, that the Babylonians associated the combination *MAR-TU* with the storm, an idea which in itself is closely connected with the solar cult. This *MAR-TU* = "storm" probably gave rise to the common combination *a-mâ-tu* = *abûbu*, a popular word-picture, punning on *MAR-TU*.¹

Analyzing *MAR-TU*, we find *MAR* = *MAR* and the cognate *Eme-Ku*: *GAR* (= *MAR*) = *GAR* (*ŠA*) with frequent synonyms, derivable from the storm or flood idea. Thus, *MAR* (*MAR*) = *eqû*, "wind," "twist," M.4122; = *urbatum* (*ci-e-tum*), "vermin," M.4134 ("twisting," "twining creatures"); = *tultu*, "worm," M.4134 (same idea); = *esêru*, "tie; bind," M.4121 (from "twist"); = *xâšu*, "bind tightly" (*Zb.51*), M.4125; = *nadû*, "destroy," "pull down," M.4129; = *raxâcu*, "flood," B.5818; *paṭâru*, "split," "open," B.5817; *šaxâtu*, "destroy," M.4131; = *šaqašû*, "devastate," M.4132; = *nasâxu*, "tear away," B.5816; = *šalû*, "throw off," F.2295 (*MAR-RA*); = *malû*, "fill," M.4127; and secondarily = *nâxu*, "be fat," M.4128. The cognate *Eme-Ku*: *GAR*

¹ *A-mâ-tu* = *abûbu*; literally means "water [a] enter [tu] ship [mâ]." written paronomastically with *mâ* = *elippu*. Note that *A-mâ-ru* = *abûbu*, M.11435, is even nearer in form to *MAR-TU* and, although written with the ship-sign, contains the *MAR* (light)-element. The equation *MAR-TE* = *ispatu*, "quiver" (for arrows), M.4151, stands on the same paronomastic footing with (*SU*) *A-mâ-tu* = *ispatu*, *Senn.*, VI. 56, only in this case, the *MAR* is not the light *MAR*, but the *MAR* seen in *narkabtu*, "chariot," B.10224. In both *MAR* = *narkabtu* and *MAR* = *ispatu* we have the *MAR* = "inclosure," "receptacle," *MSL*, 232.

(MAR)=GAR (ŠA) also shows the meanings *raxâcu*, *šaxâtu*, *nasâxu*, *paṭâru*, all cited *MSL*, 232; with the additional equation: *šarâqu*, "bestow," probably from the idea "pour" in *raxâcu*, "flood." GAR=*labânu*, "lay down," is probably from another GAR-word=*libittu*, "brick," B.11189.¹

It is clear that none of the above meanings can be derived from the primary meaning of MAR-GAR which is undoubtedly *šakânu*, "make," "arrange," "establish," "place," *MSL*, 232. This sense is seen in compounds, as *HT*, 119, 14: DUR (KU) MAR-A-AN=*ûšib*; lit. "he makes [MAR] a sitting" (IV. R. 12, 7), MAR[GAR] being used like the Turkish *etmek* in compounds. B.5812, in connection with this passage, is inaccurate, as it assigns the value *ašâbu*, "dwell," to the MAR-sign. Note also that KI-MAR-RA=*šubtu*, "dwelling," B.9743: lit., "the making of a place" (KI), so that MAR in MAR-TU might readily mean *maškanu*.

It will be clear from the above that MAR-TU could have been understood, by the later Babylonians at least, in two senses, i.e., as "the sun-god's setting-place" with Clay, and also as *maškan erêbi*, "place of setting"="West" (cf. Haupt in *Cong. of Orientalists*, Part III, 29, Berlin, 1882, commenting on IM-MAR-TU, "west-wind"). The element TU=*tu*=*erêbu*, "enter," "set" (of the sun), also=*u-ru*=*šubtu*, "dwelling," *CT*, XII, 11, 25a. This is a well-known Sumerian vocable, cognate with *tuš*=*ašabu*, "dwell," B.10515; DUR (DURUN) *ašabu*, B.10523; DUL=*ašabu*, B.9579, and *ridû*, "beget," "enter sexually," B.9586; DUL=*katâmu*, "cover," B.9582; DU, "open," "penetrate," *MSL*, 86-87; TUR=*erêbu*, "enter," B.1072. Note also the significant equation *Marduk*=^dTU-TU, B.1082, "the god of the sunset or West," which further confirms Clay's view that MAR-TU contains a reference to the light-god of the West. F.546, *tu*=*abûbu*, with value *u-ru*, is also an association with MAR-TU=*abûbu*, and a confusion between the URU-sign, B.909, and the very similar GĪSGAL-sign=*mexû*, "flood," "inundation." The -tu in *šûtu* has no connection here as this is a feminine ending of *šû* (cf. *KB*, VI, 239, n. 11=Heb. שׁוּתָה (thus Haupt; cf. also Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, s.v. *šûtu*).

¹ See *MSL*, s.v. MAR, and especially s.v. GAR, 126.



It is highly likely that there exists in MAR-TU, as in so many cases in the involved development of the later syllabaries,¹ a *double entente*. I must agree with Clay that the name $\text{Mar} = \text{𒌦}$ was used in the West for the solar deity, as this idea is supported by the equation MAR^{kl} , "land of 𒌦." The many equations cited above of equivalents to $\text{MAR}[\text{GAR}]$ connected with the storm idea seem to be Babylonian, which would certainly imply that this conception of the sun-god MAR-TU may not have been of western origin, or, at any rate, that it was developed extensively in the Babylonian religious thought. None of these storm meanings is derivable from the primary sense of $\text{MAR}[\text{GAR}]$, "make," "establish," nor are they to be accounted for by the tone theory, because they are too numerous. They are plainly all derived from the storm aspect of $^{\text{d}}\text{MAR-TU}$.






It is clear also that there is a further paronomastic association between MAR and $\text{AMAR} = \text{ZUR} = \text{b} \hat{\text{u}} \text{ru}$, B.9068, "young creature." A-MAR as a noun means literally "creature," i.e., $\text{A} = \text{abstract idea} + \text{MAR}$, "make," "create." AMAR is found in its normal sense = $\text{kun n} \hat{\text{u}}$, *MSL*, 31, "care for," "arrange" (*passim*), but we find its association with the same idea as that seen in MAR-TU = $\text{a b} \hat{\text{u}} \text{bu}$, "flood," and "destroy" in the equation $\text{d} \text{a k} \hat{\text{u}}$, "slaughter," because AMAR was also applied to the god $\text{Mar duk} = \text{AMAR-UTU-KI}$ (in this case $\text{AMAR} = \text{𒌦}$, Clay, *op. cit.*, 95); and cognately, to some baleful star: MUL AMAR-UTU-KI , II. R. 57, 45a (*ZA*, I, 265, n. 2). This $\text{ZUR} = \text{AMAR}$ is also equated with MARAD , B.9066, and with MARADDA , B.9078. Even $\text{AMAR-UTUK} = \text{Mar duk}$ is capable of a double rendering, as it can mean "[the western] AMAR is UTU-KI " = "the sun of the land" = Šamaš , II. R. 48, 34a. AMAR-UTUK can also be read "the offspring [$\text{AMAR} = \text{b} \hat{\text{u}} \text{ru}$] of Šamaš !" The phonetic form MAR-DUK , I. 45, 35b, is possibly merely an abbreviation of $\text{AMAR-UTUK}[\text{I}]$. This UTU-KI must be distinguished from $\text{UTUG} = \text{utukku}$, "the incubus demon," which is the abstract $\text{U-} + \text{TUK}$, "possess" = "the deity of possession" in the subjective sense. Note that the same sign = GIDIM , B.11306 = ekimmu , "the snatching demon" ($\text{GI} = \text{cab} \hat{\text{a}} \text{tu}$, "snatch," "seize," *MSL*, 144 + DIM

¹ See *MSL, passim*, for the artificial and arbitrary character of the later Sumerian classification.

[gim], "make," viz., "make a snatching," a compound similar to those used with GAR = GAR [ŠA] cited above).

The ideogram BURBUR (1)=Tidnu=Amurru, also with value ARI (see above); (2)=Akkadû with value U-RI, "city," *par excellence* here; (3)=Ur̥tu with value TILLA (god-name). The same ideogram with GIŠ=the plant names appatân, M. 5331; cinnatân, value uri, M.5332; cirratân, with value GIŠ-URI, M.5333.

Here again there must be a paronomastic association of the syllable UR-; AR- which suggested the application of this ideogram to three widely differing localities and to plant-names. ARI was a name of Amurru. Akkadû was the URU, "city," and the syllable UR occurs in Ur̥tu (Ur̥ar̥tu) "Armenia." The U-RI (GIŠ-URI) for the plant names was used, because Ninib was called URU =^dPIN and URU = PIN erêšu, "plant," B.1023. There were several UR-words in Sumerian, probably distinguished by tones, viz., URU = UR, "curse," perhaps paronomasia from Sem. ar̥ru; URI (Eme-Sal: ERI), "city"; URU, "person," and URU, "plant" and "Ninib," the latter possibly being associated with ^dMAR, as Ninib appears prominently in the westland. Clay suggests (by letter) that the association of BURBUR in the above equation with plant-names may refer to the plants as being products from Amurru, but why not equally reasonably Akkad or Ur̥tu products? It is difficult to follow Clay in his identification of the  syllable with every name he cites (*op. cit.*, 119, n. 2) as containing this element. It seems possible that urkarinnu and perhaps some other product and produce names may contain the  element. Argamannu, however, which is in his list of "Amurru-words," is more likely to be Indo-Germanic from the same stem as Sanskrit *rāga*, "red" (BA, I, 507; ZA, II, 367).

It is quite hopeless to attempt to find a cognate relation between Tidnu and the Egyptian R̥tnw, as Jensen tried to do (ZA, X, 345), because the initial *r* of R̥tnw is certain from many passages, nor does the -*d*- of Tidnu agree with Egyptian *f*=Semitic  or . Haupt refers R̥tnw to a supposed form,  from  Judg. 18:7; 27:29, following Max Müller's similar comparison of R̥tnw with , which Müller has long since abandoned. None of these

conjectures seems satisfactory. Tidnu (Tidanu) is the name of a Syrian mountain mentioned by Gudea (Thureau-Dangin, *Königsinschr.*, 70, 6, 13), together with another peak, BA-SAL-LA (Clay: SUB-SAL-LA). Both are called XAR-SAG MAR-TU-TA, "mountain[s] of Syria." Tidnu was undoubtedly applied later to all Syria, as in Gimil-Sin's allusion to the wall BĀD MAR-TU called Mûriq-Tidnim, "that which keeps back Tidnu" = "Syria" (*Königsinschr.*, 234; *CT*, XXXII, Plate 6, No.103354, lines 20-22, a more complete duplicate of which is in the Public Library in New York¹). The equation Tidnu = GIR-GIR = Amurru, II.50, 49; 59, can be explained by the double meaning belonging to the syllable GIR, gathered, *MSL*, 148-51, from all the signs with GIR-value, viz., (1) GIR = paṭru, "dagger," and hence = barâqu, "lighten" (with the dagger sign; from the forked lightning); = uḡgu, F.4499, probably from Sumerian ug, "snake" (cf. zuqaqipu, "scorpion," B.6956), and hence, paronomastically = aḡāgu, "be angry"; (2) from the idea "sharp," "lightning," "storm," GIR was applied to light in general, as in M.6977; F.4495 = Šamaš and cognate ideas of light, as namāru, "be bright," whence namru, B.9187, "bright," and nûru, F.4493; and punningly = nimru, "tiger" (cf. labbu, M.9946).

The equation GIR-GIR = Tidnu probably also has a double sense: (1) "sharp," "pointed," referring to the mountainous character of the country in Syria (cf. above the god Amurru = "lord of the mountains"; ^dGIR = GIR = ša šadī, *CT*, XXIV, 42; 89-94; and (2) GIR = "lightning," as just shown. Perhaps Tidnu meant "high peak" in the pre-Semitic language of the West. We can certainly not as yet derive Tidnu from Semitic, Sumerian, or Elamitic. Note that ^dMAR-TU = ša Šûti, "god of the storm," and Šamaš, M.6977; F.4495. The ideographic GIR-GIR could therefore mean, in all probability, "mountainous land," and at the same time indicate the light idea contained in Amurru.

To sum up. Of the six equations for Amurru, all except Tidnu are capable of direct or indirect association with the light-

¹ The New York duplicate of *CT*, XXXII, Plate 6, fills out the mutilated lines 7-8 with the epithets: 1818 (ME) AN-NA UX-ME ŠU-LIG-LIG, "priest of heaven, the mighty anointed one," applied to Gimil-Sin. On the god-name Zaqqar of this inscription, see Prince, *AJSL*, 1913, 284-87.

idea, but their identification in this connection is so involved with the principal of indiscriminate arbitrary association, peculiar to the Sumerian syllabary, that the combinations MAR-TU and GIR-GIR each show secondary meanings, evidently developed in Babylonia.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF MESILIM, KING OF KISH

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In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXXIII, Part 3 (November, 1913), pp. 295 f., Professor Barton has a note on "The Names of Two Kings of Adab." Professor Barton's discussion is based upon copies of inscriptions from Bismya published by Dr. Edgar J. Banks in his *Bismya or the Lost City of Adab*. Through the kindness of Professor Robert Francis Harper the writer is able to give scholars more accurate copies of these inscriptions which will help in correcting a number of misapprehensions.

A glance at Plate I¹ will show that the name of the king given by Dr. Banks (p. 201) as Barki, and by Professor Barton as Mêki, is undoubtedly Mesilim. Professor Barton reads line 4, IL-IL, "brought," but this reading seems doubtful. The second part of the IL-sign is usually very elaborate. The writer offers, with reserve, the reading GA-NA-Gf or, perhaps, GA-MU-Gf. The name of the patesi is doubtful; only the middle sign is really cut into the stone. All the signs of the inscription were first lightly scratched upon the stone, and then cut in by running the engraving instrument back and forth over the faint lines of the first sketch. The latter process seems to have been applied only to the middle sign of the name of the patesi. The last sign is scratched upon a porous section of the stone, but the lines, although very faint, are as given. Of the first sign only the vertical and horizontal lines are certain.² The inscription reads:

¹ME-SILIM ²LUGAL KIS ³E-SAR ⁴GA-NA(?) -Gf ⁵SAL(?) -KISAL-SI GAR PA-
TE-SI UD-NUN-KI

Mesilim, king of Kish, to Esar has returned [this bowl], Salkisalsi being patesi of Adab.

¹ The inscription is found on a fragment of a limestone bowl whose diameter was about fourteen inches.

² There are a number of scratches upon the stone, both inside and outside the area of the inscription. This makes it all the more difficult to determine the first and last signs of the name of the patesi.

Was the patesi of Adab a woman? According to the kings' list published by Scheil, the founder of a dynasty of Kish was a woman named Azag(or Ku)-Bau.

Another inscription of Mesilim is given on Plate II (=Banks, p. 266):

¹ME-SILIM ²LUGAL KIŠ ³DUMU KI-AG ⁴(DINGIR)NIN-ĦAR-SAG (remainder broken away).

Mesilim, king of Kish, beloved son of Ninharsag. . . .

A fragment of what is probably an inscription of Mesilim is given on Plate II, No. 2.

In none of these inscriptions is the determinative ki added to Kish, nevertheless the writer does not hesitate to translate LUGAL KIŠ by "king of Kish." That Mesilim of Kish calls himself "beloved son of Ninharsag" seems to weaken the argument in favor of a South-Babylonian (Sumerian) Kesh; see Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte d. könig. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XLVII (1912), 1096 f., and King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 128. From *Rev. d'Assyr.*, IX (1912), 37, it would seem that Thureau-Dangin has abandoned the view put forward in *Jour. Asiat.*, sér. X, Vol. XI (1908), 131, n. 2.

If there remained any doubt as to Esar's being the name of a temple and not that of a king it would be removed by some of the other votive inscriptions. Two of these are given on Plate III.

No. 1: ¹E-SAR ²AD- . . . -DA ³(SAL) DAR- . . . ⁴DAM ⁵A-MU-RU.

To Esar, Ad . . . da, for Dar . . . [his] wife, dedicated.

No. 2: ¹E-SAR ²ENGUR-A-NA-AG ³DAM ⁴KA-UD-ZID ⁵[A-MU-R]U.

To Esar, for Enguranag, [his] wife, Kaudzid dedicated.

Professor Barton suggests that the name of the king called Da-udu by Dr. Banks should be read Lugal-da-udu. He compares this name with such names as Lugal-ušum-gal, Lugal-šag-ga, etc. Perhaps the name should be read Lugal-da-lu, which would be a phonetic rendering of the name Lugal-dalla; cf. Huber, *Personennamen*, p. 131. The writer would also prefer to read E-igi-nim-pa-è instead of Barton's E-ši-nim-pa-ud-du. The name read Me-ši-tug by Professor Barton is to be read Me-ba- The curved line of the last sign, as given on p. 264 of *Bismya*, is not part of the sign at all, but indicates the break in the vase. No restoration can be offered.

PLATE I

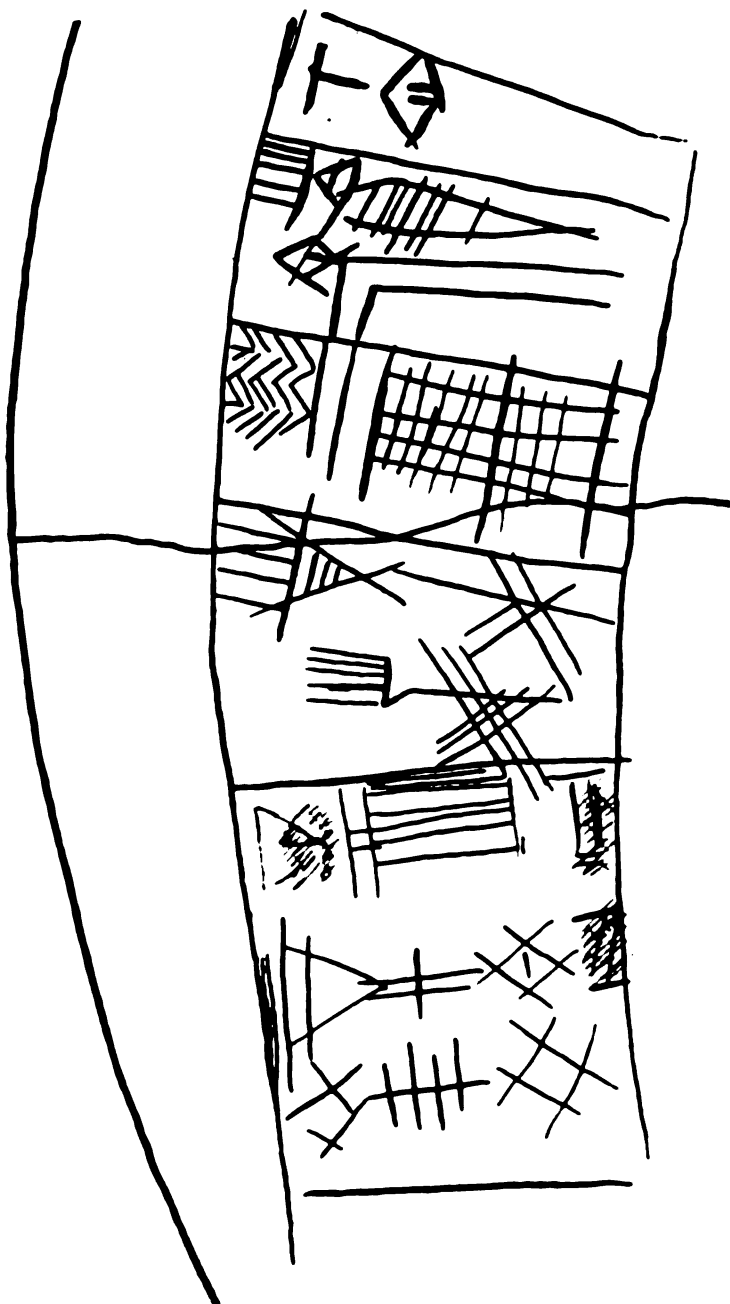
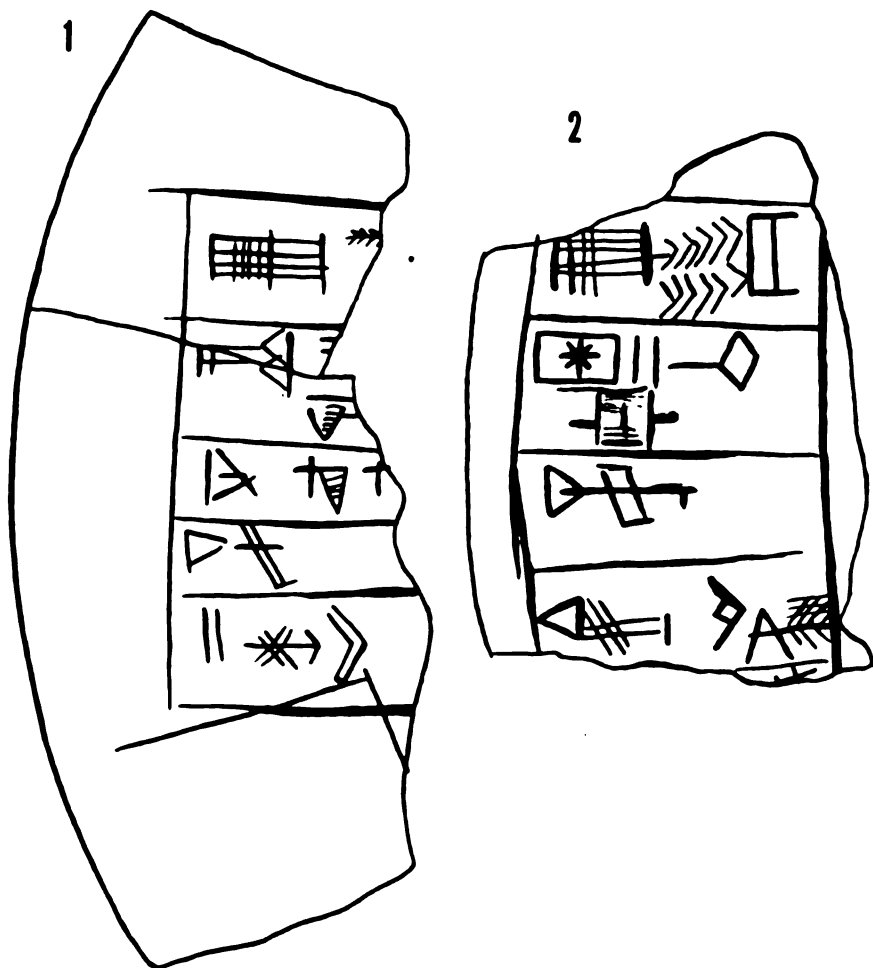


PLATE II



PLATE III



Book Notices

KLAUBER'S *POLITISCH-RELIGIÖSE TEXTE*¹

The important volume, which the reviewer has great pleasure in criticizing, completes the study of an interesting group of texts whose interpretation Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, had already begun. Knudtzon's work in which he published 166 tablets of various proportions, ranging from 50 lines to mere fragments, is now more than 20 years old and has been of great value in advancing the science of divination. Jastrow in his *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, 174, pointed out the unique character of this group of texts. "From the time of Asarhaddon and Ašurbanipal we have a large number of oracular consultations, which excite special interest, because they describe in a detailed manner the ritual which accompanied such consultations. The answers to the consultations are not given. . . ." So Jastrow. Klauber, however, by a painstaking examination of the British Museum collection, has been able to add a considerable number of consultations of the oracles and also to prove that we actually possess a number of answers to these consultations. In other words, he completes our knowledge of the manner in which the Assyrian seers (*barū*) asked questions of the sun-god and obtained the oracular response. Thus the lacuna in our knowledge of this department of Assyrian religion, which Jastrow only two years ago regretted, has been quickly filled up by Klauber's thoroughgoing investigation.

The author begins his volume by restating and completing Knudtzon's study of the literary and logical character of the oracular consultations, which the seers addressed to Shamash on behalf of the kings. These in their complete form consist of four sections:

- A. The king represented by his seer asks the sun-god whether such and such a thing will happen in a certain period, usually not more than a few months, or whether it is wise to do so and so. A considerable number of consultations concern the appointment of officials and priests.
- B. A list of circumstances which render it impossible for the god to give an answer, the so-called *ezib*-lines.
- C. The main points of the question placed before the god are then repeated, in abbreviated form.

¹ *Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*. Von Ernst Georg Klauber. Leipzig: Ed. Pfeiffer, 1913. 4vo. Pp. lxxvi + 178, and 80 plates. M. 45.

- D. The priest slays a sheep and notes the liver omens. Frequently two or even three livers are consulted and the signs carefully noted. The seer or seers then sign their names to the report giving the date and add the line,

"To thy great divinity, Shamash great lord, may it come, may it answer by an oracle."

This tablet was then sent to the interpreters of omens¹ who read the results of the liver investigations, consulted the great works on liver omens, and gave the king his answer. The report of the interpreters has usually two sections:

- A. The observations of the seers who inspected the liver or livers are repeated.
B. The king's question is also repeated and the interpreters state whether the signs on the liver indicate "yes" or "no."

Here follow the date and the names of the interpreters.

Occasionally the interpreters place their decision directly after the section A, and it seems that occasionally the interpreters quoted certain *ezib*-lines after section B;² for what purpose we cannot say.

Such is the general method pursued by the king's seers and interpreters to obtain knowledge of the events which should come to pass. Naturally each report of the seers and each report of the wise men has omissions, variant readings, and peculiarities, the details of which are catalogued by both Knudtzon and Klauber.

Klauber's great contribution to the subject is his success in showing the relation between the reports of the seers and the interpreters. In matters of technical scholarship he has established a large number of new readings and succeeded in fixing the meanings of many words. Most praiseworthy is his re-examination of the entire published corpus of liver omens. To prepare himself for such study he went to the anatomical laboratory in Dresden to study sheep's livers, precisely as Jastrow had done in Munich. He shows an intimate knowledge of previous literature, the most important being the works of Boissier and Jastrow. One is astounded to find that of all Jastrow's terminology for the numerous parts of the liver Klauber accepts only *one* as certain, *ubānu* = *processus pyramidalis*. The reviewer has conscientiously followed all the intricate liver omen-literature of various scholars and also concludes, so far as he has a right to make conclusions, that the anatomical liver-terminology of the Babylonians and Assyrians is almost wholly unknown.

Before entering upon a more minute examination of the philology of this book, I would criticize the author's interpretation of the meaning of the *ezib*-section. Undoubtedly we have here a problem which touches the nature of the whole system of divination. Klauber apparently has no clear conclusion to offer, and in his translations uses the Assyrian word. Jastrow

¹ Bēlā ṭēmī.

² Klauber, Nos. 105, 110.

translated "save us from," which does not at all suit those ezib-lines which express ideas favorable to the king. Thus in No. 105 the king wishes to know whether Nabubêlšimate will come to make war upon Assyria, and the answer is unfavorable, that is "N. will make war." Here an ezib-line has, "Unless he go and halt in the territory of Elam or in the territory of his own land." Evidently Jastrow's interpretation, "Save us that he go," etc., is precisely what we do not want, and the translations of Knudtzon, Martin, Jensen, Frank, "pay no heed to, overlook, O Shamash," are quite impossible. To my mind the ezib-section describes those circumstances which render the taking of the oracle impossible or useless—impossible because of ceremonial transgressions; useless because the situation which caused the king to consult the oracle has changed. The only construction which can be put upon these lines is that of the Arabic *illā iṭā*, "unless," which the Assyrian renders by ezib ša, or abbreviated ezib. Naturally ezib, ezub means originally, "omit, pass over"; ezub ša labšat, "with the exception of what she has on" (Ranke, *BE*, VI, No. 101, 2), ezib udê "passing over various utensils" (Th. Dangin, *Sargon*, 406). From this to the meaning of a conjunctive adverb, "unless," is a natural step. Note K. 8848 in *CT*, XVIII, ulla, ḳišamma, ezub;¹ ḳišamma, "grant that," "make an exception of," is to my knowledge not yet found in texts, nevertheless the meaning is tolerably clear. Also ulla probably means "unless"; see *RA*, VIII, 144, "From the fifth of Gasum they will add 2 shekels interest monthly on one mana, kaspam ana 3 warḥê ú-lá utāru, unless they restore the money within three months." See also e-la, "except" (Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 42a; Craig, *RT*, 54, 9).

Page xv, ezib ša ittišu libbāšun² idabbubūma utarrūma ibārū, "Unless their heart plot with him and they again rebel"; tāru is probably a helping verb. Cf. itur enaḥ-ma, "it fell again to ruins," (Messerschmidt, *KT A*, 51, II, 20). Atāru; kun ḳati enū uttiru, "he who repeatedly changed the agreement" (Klauber, 148, Rev. 4); luškun luttir, "should I toil and toil again" (*AJSL*, XXVIII, 221, 46). Saḥāru; i-iz-za-aḥ-ru-u ikimušu-ma, "they have taken it from him again" (Th. Dangin, *Lettres et contrats* 31, 14).

Page xvii, ūmu šu-bu; read irūbu, "the storm rumbles," i.e., it thunders. "I ask the Shamash so and so, unless at the judgment of this day, whether good or bad, it thunders and rains." That is, such signs indicate that omens must not be taken at that time.

Ibid., ezib, 2, is wholly misunderstood; ezib ša asakku lu'u niḳê ulappitu lū ana pan niḳê ušapriku, "Unless an unclean disease has slain the sacrificial sheep, or prevented it."

¹ The word which follows is probably ma-siṣ-tum; cf. ma-siṣ, *RA*, 10, 75, Rev. 3.

² Not libbi-šun except in the genitive; see Pognon, *JA*, 1913, 423.

Azag=asakku, "disease," was already established in the reviewer's *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 204. The verb parāku, "split," "separate," "hinder," "lock up," is connected with פָּרַק Sum. kud, *BM*, 83-1-18, 1335, II, 22, ~~ku~~ (ku-ud)=pa-ra-ku. The verb is often construed with ana pan in the sense of, "cover the face of," "put something between the observer and an object," an idiom which the lexicons have erroneously entered under parāku, "to crush," פָּרַק, פָּרַק, "rub": "Whosoever ina pan musārê-ia manma ki la amāri u la šasê i-pa-ar-ri-ku, put an obstacle before my inscriptions so that one cannot see or read them" (*King*, *AKA*, 250, 66); "Whosoever ana pan aban narê-ia ušapra-ku, causes my inscribed stelé to be blocked up" (*AKA*, 107, 73); ipšit ina pan Teumman ušapriku ušamḫirka, "The deed with which I prevented T. I have caused to come upon thee" (*KB*, II, 268, 101); ipšit limuttim ša . . . ilāni . . . ina pan abi bānī-šu ušapriku, "The evil deed with which the gods prevented his father" (*KB*, II, 176, 122); pan kiššūti-ia šubat šarrūti-ia la ušapra-ku, "Not shall he hinder my glory, my royal abode" (*AKA*, 248, 45).

Page xx. On the obscene meaning of galādu see *Babyloniaca*, II, 124, and cf. Boissier, *Choix*, 13, 5.

Ibid., ezib d) kun ḫati on analogy of kun libbi has certainly an ethical meaning. On utturu as a helping verb see above, note on p. xv. Translate, "Or repeatedly changed an agreement and suppressed it."

Page xxii, LAL-MEŠ, etc. Read uḫaṭṭū lū naṣḫā lū bērā, "[The words] which he has said sinfully be expelled, be discovered."

Page xxvi, l. 3, K. 2526? is this correct? K. 2526 is a Sumerian incantation.

Page xxxix, šag-nigin=tirānu and irri saḫḫarutu (not saḫirutu) is certainly the small intestines; see *AJSL*, XXX, 79.

Page xl, nakap kabitti, probably naḫab kabitti, "forehead of the liver."

Page liii. On giš-ku=zibu, which is certainly erroneous; see also *VAB*, IV, 286. SIT-MEŠ="form" (mināti), and ŠID(=minātu), "number," are confused by Klauber. eli mināti-šu rabi (ṣiḫir), "it is larger (smaller) than its natural size," is certainly the meaning of these passages. No. 9, Rev. 11, tirānu, XVI, ŠID does not contradict the rendering of ŠID-MEŠ LAL-MEŠ as mināti maṭū, "the form is deficient." ŠID "number," and ŠID^{pl}, "form," are to be held apart. No. 9, Rev. 11, means "Sixteen intestines in number," and this is surely the construction to be put upon šag-nigin+Z² *passim*. The vocabulary published by me in *AJSL*, XXX, 79, is conclusive on this point.

¹ Supply amāti or tamāti: in any case a fem. pl. to agree with naṣḫā and bērā.

² A number.

Page 4, *ṣamāru* > *ṣarāmu*, "to think about," is certain. See already *VAB*, IV, 360, and p. 150, n. For the piel *ṣummuru*, "to direct one's thoughts toward," see Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 512.

Page 22, *si-lá=piḳittu*. Note also *si-il-lá=piḳittu* (*RA*, 10, 71, 37).

Page 32, *zi-ru*, be twisted, crooked Heb. *רָרַר*, "to roll," so far as I can see suits all the known passages.

Page 46, 9, *ṣiḥṭu ṣa limutti*, "a painful advance." See also p. lix, n. 4. For *ṣiḥṭu*, "advance," see *RA*, X, 97, n. 6.

Page 67, 6, *amelu* *GA R^{pl}*, *zakkē*; *zakkū* is in any case a loan-word from *sag*, "gift"; see *VAB*, IV, 357, *sub* *sakku amelu zak-ki-e*, "the officials of the regular offerings," (Knudtzon, 109, 13); *amelu zak-ku-u*, follows the *nāš paṭri* (II R. 31, 37). Here to be compared *amelu za-zak-ku* (*PSBA*, 1893, 420; King, *Bd. Stones*, 77, 12 and 58, 23); *zazakku* is certainly identical with (*amelu*) *𐎶zak-ku-u*, i.e., *ša-zakkū*, "he who institutes the fixed offerings." Hence Klauber's (*amel*) *šaknūti zakkē* is probably false. The plural *MEŠ* is placed after *𐎶* as the only method of indicating the Semitic conception, "instructors of." Nevertheless the loan-word in the plural could hardly be read otherwise than *zazakkē*.

Page 75, 8. Read probably *ana[tar-]ṣi ṣamē*. *TAR* is apparently omitted. This confirms *LAL=tarṣi* in Knudtzon, 116, 12. The idiom *pani ana tarṣi ṣamē šakānu*, "to turn away one's face toward heaven," probably means "to keep still about a matter"; *išimmū pani-šu ana tarṣi ṣamē išakan-un*, "Will he hear (about intrigues) and keep quiet?" See Kn. 117, 10; 126, 10; 118, 8; 119, 4; 124, 1.

Page 89, No. 77. In Kn. 52, 5 read *ezib ṣa dibba ṣt-ti*.

Page 101, *ḥal=ḥallu*, means "anus," "crotch"; see Th. Dāgin, *Sargon*, 173. The meaning of *ḥal-nigin* in liver omens is yet uncertain.

Page 103, Rev. 4, *ša ni-iš šūmi-ka rabā ḳa-liš izkuruma imēšu šalṭiš*, "Who by thy great name scoffingly swore and forgot it haughtily." Klauber's interpretation is supported by a parallel passage from Myhrman's texts, *BP*, Vol. I, No. 14, l. 25. I published an edition of this text in *PSBA*, 1912, 75-78. Lines 24-28 were taken from Myhrman's copy, but he appears to have confused the ends of the lines, an error due to the fact that a fragment was glued on the surface a little too high. I now read these lines as follows:

24. *ṣiptu:ili-ia ul i-di še-rit . . . na-at*
25. *šum-ka kab-tu ḳa-liš az(?) -za-ak(?) -kar*
26. *me-e-ka am-te-eš danniš al- . . .*
27. *ši-pir-ka ina dan-na-ti aš-te'-?¹*
28. *i-ta-ka danniš e-te-te-[iḳ].*

¹ We expect *aš-te'it*.

"Incantation: My god not do I know the sins of
 Thy revered name scoffingly have I spoken?
 Thy titles have I forgotten and mightily have I ?
 Thy work in time of calamity have I *neglected*?
 Thy boundaries have I transgressed?"

Page 106, No. 106, Obv. 3, read *imaḫut-ma*; cf. *CT*, 27, 50 K. 3669, Rev. 7. Also same error, l. 4, etc. No. 106, 14, for SIG-I read *sig-gan* = *sig-gan*, *saphûtu*; see Meissner, *SAI*, 3941. Also Landsberger's copy of K 3978 is most certainly an error for *sig-gan*.

Page 108, note on line 2, for *milku* read *ṭêmu*.

Page 109. The note on SIG is false.

Page 112, 14, for *gibši* read *gipši*, *MVAG*, 1907, 165.

Page 116, note on *ṣumiratu*, add K. 4001 in Bezold's *Catalogue*.

Page 120, to note on *arāmu* add Boissier, *Choix*, 92, 8-10.

S. LANGDON

OXFORD
 March, 1914

PUBLICATION OF THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS IN THE MUSEUM OF LEYDEN¹

(Fifth Instalment)

This instalment of the Leyden Egyptian Monuments is the second series of documents from the Empire, and contains sixteen plates. As in the case of its predecessor, its value is chiefly as a series of monuments of Egyptian art. As given in the subtitle, these are Pyramids, Canopic Chests, Offering Tablets, and Statues.

The pyramids are those which we commonly call "pyramidions," mortuary monuments bearing Sun-hymns, of which all the museums of Europe contain at least a few specimens each. The significance of these monuments, in view of the fact that they bear Sun-hymns, has been strangely overlooked heretofore, and forms one of the evidences for the fact that the pyramid is a monument of solar connection and significance.² These examples published by Dr. Boeser are typical, but very useful, specimens of their class.

The most plentifully inscribed monument in this instalment is the large stone Canopic chest of a royal scribe and chief steward named Amen-hotep. Like so much of the Leyden Collection, this specimen came from the Memphite cemetery and is one of the finest examples of its class.

¹ *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichs-Museums der Altertümer in Leiden. Die Denkmäler des neuen Reiches. Zweite Abteilung. Pyramiden, Kanopenkasten, Opfertische, Statuen, von Dr. P. A. A. Boeser. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913.*

² See my *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 70-73.

Of the five offering tablets, No. 7 is a very beautifully sculptured piece belonging to a foreigner, named Pagarara. Both the work and the name remind one of stela of the Ethiopian, Pagathtaruru, in the Haskell Collection, but its provenance is uncertain. Dr. Boeser's interpretation of his title is that of a chief sculptor (*Oberbildhauer*). The title is an unusual one, and, as reproduced on the plate, seems to be that of a scribe rather than that of an artist.

It is with special pleasure that one turns to the series of plates reproducing the Leyden statues. The first three contain Empire masterpieces of the first rank. The great seated figure of Mai (Plate IV), seven feet high, cut in limestone, depicts him sitting in a high-backed chair with lion's legs; his figure is clad in a rich, full-sleeved robe of the Empire, his head covered with an elaborate wig hanging over his shoulders; the face, plastic and rotund, displays the most delicate chiseling about nostrils and lips—this work, in short, in *ensemble* and in detail, is one to rouse the envy of all who have at heart the growth of our young American collections, which we can hardly hope ever will possess such specimens of Egyptian art as this. The delicate figure of Mai's wife (Plate V), a statue six feet high, is a remarkable example of the Egyptian sculptor's skill in displaying flesh forms through drapery. These two people, who lived at Memphis in the fourteenth century B.C., were brother and sister as well as man and wife, and of such high station that they were not only able to instal these two statues of themselves in their Memphite tomb, but also a sumptuous group, some five feet high, which shows them both seated, side by side, the lady on her husband's right, with her left arm thrown about his shoulder. They are dressed as in their individual statues. The softness and beauty of the modeling, the remarkable success with which the anatomical detail is depicted, especially of hands and feet (in treating which the Egyptian sculptor was notoriously careless), make this group a notable work.

It is impossible to discuss all the twenty-four human figures sculptured in the round, which are presented in this series. The extraordinary face of the royal scribe reproduced on Plate IX, a man who lived in the reign of Rameses II (thirteenth century B.C.), raises the question as to whether or not he may be a foreigner. The writing of his name, as given by the editor on p. 7 (No. 17), may be supplemented by the variant on Plate 16, which has *hr*, showing that on his statue also we should read *hr*, and not *gr*. The whole name then reads '*n-hr-y'w.t.f*, meaning "beautiful in his office" (literally, "beautifully under," that is "bearing his office").

The care and the success which have characterized the work of both the editor and the publisher in the preceding four instalments are equally noticeable in this, the fifth. No art library can afford to be without these important monuments of Egyptian sculpture, of which several are among the leading examples of oriental art.

JAMES H. BREASTED

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ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS¹

During the first two expeditions to Nippur conducted by Dr. Peters a considerable number of Jewish incantation bowls were found. The catalogue of the University Museum contains more than 150 numbers devoted to these, and Professor Montgomery has in this excellent and scholarly volume published all the Semitic specimens which are of value. A large number of the enumerated specimens are mere fragments out of which nothing can be made. About 30 of them are what Professor Montgomery calls "original fakes"; they are inscribed with letters or pot-hooks arbitrarily arranged, and which mean nothing. Illiterate people in antiquity had them palmed off upon them by some charlatan magicians. A few of the bowls are in non-Semitic script; these are not included in this volume. The volume contains the text of 41 bowls. Each text is transliterated into the square Hebrew character, and is translated and copiously annotated. Thirty-one of the texts are written in Hebrew characters, 7 in Syriac, and 3 in Mandaic characters.

Professor Montgomery has conceived his task so generously that he has compressed into the volume almost all that can be known of the subject. The notes reveal extensive and thorough research into all the related dialects and into the ramifications of magic itself. These notes are supplemented by three glossaries, one containing personal names and epithets of deities, angels, and demons, another the names of men and women, while a third defines the words used in the texts themselves. This part of the work is thoroughly and carefully done, and places all Semitic scholars under deep obligation to the author. Few scholars in any country have worked in this field; the script and dialects are difficult, and Dr. Montgomery has made from every point of view a notable contribution to the subject. He illuminates, not only his own texts, but adds much to the understanding of those previously published by others, and often misunderstood by them. The introduction treats of all the matters of general interest connected with the subject; the various scripts, the use of the inscribed bowls, the exorcists, the clients, the incantations, the objects of exorcism (demons, etc.), propitious angels and deities, the age of the bowls, and the relations of bowl magic.

Professor Montgomery believes the bowls to be pre-Islamic. They were found in a Sassanian stratum, and there is no real evidence of Arabian influence in their texts. They cannot, therefore, be later than the early part of the seventh century. They were found in the earth, buried in an inverted position under houses. The incantation was thought to confine some troublesome spirit or demon beneath the bowl and so prevent him from doing harm to the house or its inmates. Several of them are directed against

¹ *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*. [University of Pennsylvania—The Museum—Publications of The Babylonian Section, Vol. III.] By James A. Montgomery. Philadelphia: Published by the University Museum, 1913. Large 8vo. pp. 326 + xli plates.

Lilith, to prevent her from harming a pregnant woman or a mother and child. One or two of them are love charms. They all exemplify implicit faith in the power of the spoken word. Yahweh, or some deity, angel, or genius, is invoked to "bind, seal, counterseal, exorcise, hobble, or silence" the evil spirit. The bowls come from a time when religion and magic had been completely divorced. There was no ceremony connected with the bowls except saying the formula and burying the bowl bottom up. The magic can only be called Jewish because most of these texts are in a Jewish script, and sometimes Yahweh is invoked. Some of the texts are frankly pagan and invoke pagan deities. Professor Montgomery has traced some of the roots of this magic to Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek sources.

A general index and an index of Greek words help to place all the material in the book at the disposal of any reader. One can hardly imagine material less promising, but it is difficult to see how anyone could bring out of it so much that is interesting as is done in this book.

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE



Recent Publications

OF

The University of Chicago Press

Unpopular Government in the United States. By Albert M. Kales,
Professor of Law in Northwestern University.

272 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postage extra (weight 24 oz.)

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The first part of the volume deals with the rise of the politocrats; the second discusses various expedients for restoring the American ideal of democracy; while the third considers constructive proposals like the commission form of government for smaller cities, and the application of the principles underlying this form to larger cities and the state, and to the selection of judges.

Chicago Tribune. Albert M. Kales, Professor of Law in Northwestern University, has written a book which ought to be read wherever citizens are perplexed by the intricacies and distressed by the failures of government.

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A change in the post-office regulations, effective March 16, 1914, provides for the mailing of books under the parcels-post classification. It is no longer possible to announce definite postage charges because of the variation of the rate with the distance.

We shall, however, still publish on the "net" basis, which involves a separate charge for transportation. In the following announcements the weight of each book is given, which will enable the purchaser to estimate the postage cost to his place of residence.

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ZUR POLITIK UND KULTUR DER SARGONIDENZEIT

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III¹

Die Bedeutung der aus Assurbanipals Bibliothek stammenden neuassyrischen und neubabylonischen Briefftexte in inhaltlicher sowie in sprachlicher Beziehung ist längst erkannt. Dass diese Texte uns mancherlei Aufschlüsse gewähren können und in vieler Hinsicht unsere Kenntnisse zu bereichern imstande sind, zeigen von Neuem kürzlich veröffentlichte Briefe.² Im Folgenden soll nun dieses neuerschlossene Material untersucht und besonders die für die Zeitgeschichte und den Kult wichtigen Abschnitte hervorgehoben werden.

Der Text [1282] K. 2641 ist die schon durch Smith, *Hist. of Asurb.*, 12 f., bekannte Abschrift eines Briefes, den ein König von Assyrien an den König von Babylon sandte. Wie schon Winckler³ gegen Smith betonte, hat der Brief nichts mit Assarhaddon und Assurbanipal als seinen Mitregenten zu tun, stammt vielmehr aus älterer Zeit. Ob die Bezeichnung des Babyloniers als "Vater" wirklich wörtlich zu nehmen,⁴ bleibt allerdings fraglich, es könnte damit

¹ Vgl. *AJSL*, XXVIII, 101 ff. u. 204 ff.

² Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Vols. XII, XIII, Die Zahlen in eckigen Klammern beziehen sich auf die Bände I-XIII des Harper'schen Briefcorpus.

³ *Untersuchungen*, 133 f.

⁴ So Winckler.

auch einfach ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis ausgedrückt sein,⁵ ähnlich wie andererseits die Bezeichnung "Bruder" die Ansprache an einen gleichberechtigten König in den Amarnatafeln ist. Gegen Winckler kann jetzt auch gezeigt werden, dass die Formel *ḫibima umma* auch im neuassyrischen Reich vorkommt, dass also die Formel *lû šulmu* damals nicht die allein gebräuchliche war.⁶ *Ḫibima umma* findet sich in [914] und in [1112] einem Schreiben der Scheichs vom Flusse Tubuli'aš.⁷ Aus der Form *ḫibima* statt *ki-bè-ma* kann wohl kaum auf das Alter des Briefes ein Schluss gezogen werden. Bezeichnend ist, dass beide Könige den Titel *šar kiššati* führen. Lässt sich so die Zeit dieses Briefes nicht bestimmen, so können die nun folgenden Texte mit mehr oder weniger Sicherheit den einzelnen Sargonidenherrschern zugeteilt werden.

Gemäss der Adresse ist [1226] 82-5-22, 144 an Sargon gerichtet. Das Schreiben ist von den Kommandanten der Festung Saphani abgesandt, denselben Leuten, von denen auch [524] K. 583 herrührt. Die Einleitung des letzteren Textes lautet obv. 1 ff.: *1 a-na šarru-kin šar kiššati um-ma amēlu ardāni meš-ka 2 mḥa-il-ilu 3 ṣab-di-ilu 4 ša alu birti ša alu sap-ḥa-ni 5 a-na šarri be-ll-šu-nu i-na-aš-ša-ru 6 šul-mu a-na alu bir-ti ša šarri 7 lu-ú šul-mu a-na šarri be-ll-i-ni*. Danach ist in [1226] als Name des einen Absenders *mḥ[a-il-ilu]* herzustellen und in obv. 8 *šul-mu a-na alu bi[r-ti]* zu lesen, nicht etwa ein mit *ḫi* beginnender Stadtname zu ergänzen. Der grössere Teil der Tafel ist zerstört, der Inhalt nicht feststellbar, beachtenswert ist obv. 6 das Suffix *nu* in *be-ll-i-nu*, vgl. Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, § 13, 1. Von [524] ist hingegen der Obvers fast ganz erhalten, er sei hier wiedergegeben. 7 ff.: *8 ši-pir-ti ša 9 m ilu nabû-tak-lak 10 a-na šarri u-šib-bi-la 11 ul m ilu nabû-tak-lak ki-i i-šad-da-ru-ši 12 amēlu ḫi-pa-ni-šu i-šad-da-ru-ši 13 ṣa a-na šarri i-šap-pa-ru-ú-ni 14 um-ma amēlu ḫaknu nu la*

⁵ Vgl. *Amarna Kn.*, 73, 1 f.

⁶ A.a.O. Daneben ist in neuassyrischer Zeit die Formel *ana dinān šarri lullik* ganz gewöhnlich, vgl. Behrens, *Briefe*, 27, und [899], [900], [913], [925], usw., gegen Weber, *El Amarnatafeln*, 1052.

⁷ Der Text berührt sich eng mit [906], demnach ist dort in Z. 8 zu lesen *mabu (!)-itti-ia* nach [1112], obv. 6 an Stelle des von der Ausgabe gegebenen Zeichens, umgekehrt ist [1112], obv. 7 wahrscheinlich nach [906], obv. 7 zu korrigieren.

bīt-^mda-kur ¹³šu-ú-ši šarru liš-pur-aš-šu-nu-ti
¹⁴um-ma mi-nu-ú ha-ba-lu ¹⁵i[-]šad-da-[ra?]
 "Die Botschaft, die Nabûtaqlák dem König hat überbringen lassen,
 nicht Nabûtaqlák hat sie verfasst, seine Verwalter haben sie ver-
 fasst, und in Betreff, dass man zu dem König schickt, folgen-
 dermassen: "Den Statthalter von⁸ Bît-Dakuru entferne," so möge
 der König ihnen Botschaft senden: "Was für eine Schädigung(?).
" Ebenfalls der Regierung Sargons zuzuschreiben ist [1196]
 80-7-19, 30, ein Bericht über die Lage in Mušasir. Als Name des
 Absenders ist vielleicht Bêl-[iddin] herzustellen nach [515] K. 627,
 obv. 2, wo ein Mann dieses Namens über die Lage in Armenien
 berichtet. Beachtenswert ist die Schreibung des Königsnamen
 Ur-za-a-ni sonst Ur-za-nu(i), obv. 9 wird die Stadt Uesi (Bitlis)⁹
 erwähnt. Der obv. 11 erwähnte Ariza begegnet auch [147] K. 1170,
 obv. 8, in einem Briefe des Assur-rišûa und in [121] K. 468, einem
 Briefe des Gabbu-ana-Assur. Auch [1298] dürfte in Sargons Zeit
 fallen es wird darin vom Aufbruch des Armenierkönigs(?) und von
 einem Opfer in der Stadt A[di]a berichtet, daran schliesst sich ein
 Meldung über Hubuškia. ¹a-na šarri [be-lî-ia] ²ardu-
 ka ^m . . . ³lu šulmu^{mu} a-na [šarri be-lî-ia] ⁴ina
 eli te-[e-mi] ⁵šà ^mât^uurarṭa-a-a d[i?] . . ⁶ú-ta-me-
 š[i] ⁷ina lib-bi ⁸lu a-[di-a] ⁸immeru ni-qi-a . . . ⁹e-
 pa-šà ši(?) . . . ¹⁰mât^uḫu-bùš-ka-a-[a] . . ¹¹[ina]
 pa-ni-šu ma-a . . . ¹². na-ta . . .

An Sanherib dürfte vielleicht ein Brief gerichtet sein, der—
 anscheinend zusammen mit anderen Mitteilungen—auf [1216]
 82-5-22, 105 wiedergegeben ist. Es sei hier ein Stück des Anfanges,
 ein historisch nicht uninteressanter Abschnitt, in Umschrift und
 Uebersetzung wiedergegeben. Obv. 7ff.: . . šu ^mbêl-ú-še-zib
 ardu-ka kal[bu]-ka ù pa-liḫ-ka . . ⁸. [dib]-bi ma-'a-
 du-tu i-ba-aš-ši ša i-na ninua^{k1} aš-mu-ú k[i] . .
⁹am-me-ni ri-eš ^mêlu^ura-ag-gi-ma-nu ^{sa1}ra-ag-gi-ma-
 a-tu? . . . ¹⁰[amêlu]maš-maš i-na pi-ia ab/p-ri-ku-ma
 a-na šul-mu ša mâr šarri be-lî-i[a] . . . ¹¹. ka

⁸ Zu dem la -ḫ vgl. Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, § 35 (S. 55 f.). Ich notiere noch folgende
 Stellen aus den beiden letzten Bänden: [1204], obv. 13, [1216] rv. 2, [1341], obv. 8, 14.

⁹ Vgl. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne de Sargon*, X.

la-pa-ni da-a-ku ú-še-zi-ba-am-ma a-na ^{11u}a-
 ši-t[i].... ¹²a-na muḥ-ḥi da-a-ki -ia ù da-a-ku
 ša ardāni meš-ka ūmu^{mu} -us-s[u].... ¹³ù it-tu
 ša šarru-ú-ti ša ^{m 11(u)}aššur-aḥ-iddin-na mār šarri
 be-lī-[ia].... ¹⁴a-na mda-da-a ^{amēlu}maš-maš ù um
 šarri aq-bu-ú um-ma ^{m 11(u)}[aššur-aḥ-iddin-na
 šarrūt] ¹⁵bābili^{ki} ip-pu-uš ē-sag-il u-šak-lal ù
 ia-a-[ši?].... ¹⁶am-me-ni a-di muḥ-ḥi ša en-na
 šarru ri-eš-a la iš-ši. Obv. 7 ff.: ".... Bēlusché-
 zib, dein Diener, dein Hu[nd] und dein Verehrer . . . viele
 Din[ge] sind es, die ich in Ninive vernommen, wi[e] . . . warum
 das Haupt¹⁰ der Beschwörer, der Beschwörerinnen . . .
 den Maschmaschupriester mit meinem Munde *pries*¹¹ ich, zum Heile
 des Kronprinzen, mei[nes] Herrn, . . . vor dem Ermordet-
 werden rettete er, nach der Stadt Ašit[i] . . . mich zu töten und
 deine Knechte zu töten alltäglic[h] . . . und ein Vorzeichen des
 Königtums Assarhaddons, des Kronprinzen, [meines] Herrn, . . .
 zu Dadā, dem Maschmaschupriester und der Königinmutter sprach
 ich folgendermassen: A[ssarhaddon] wird [die Königsherrschaft]
 über Babylon ausüben, Esagila vollenden und mi[ch?] . . .
 Warum hat bis jetzt der König mein Haupt nicht erhoben?"¹²

[1242] 83-1-18, 82 könnte von Assarhaddon abgesandt sein an
 seinen Sohn Assurnadinšum, wie sich wenigstens aus den Resten des
 obv. schliessen lässt: [duppu ša . . . šar ^{māt}u ilu aššur^{ki}
 [a-na . . . šar ^{māt}u a]kkadi mārī-šu. Natürlich bleibt
 die Möglichkeit offen, dass bloss eine Abschrift der Assurbanipal-
 bibliothek vorliegt und dass mārīšu bloss formelhaft gemeint
 ist. An Assarhaddon gerichtet ist [1365] 48-7-20, 119 nach obv. 9
 [^{m 11(u)}sin-aḥḥē-erba abi-ka, ein sehr verstümelter Text,
 der wegen der Nennung Assurbanipals, dem Ende der Regierung
 des Königs angehören dürfte. Für die Zeitgeschichte von Wichtig-
 keit ist [1217] 82-5-22, 108, ein Text, der, wenn ich recht verstehe,
 aus dem Anfang(?) der Regierung Assarhaddons stammt und die

¹⁰ Es liegt wohl sicher die Phrase rēšu našū, "das Haupt erheben," "helfen"
 u. ä. vor.

¹¹ Vgl. die Eigennamen Bariki-ili usw. Tallqvist, *Neubabyl. Namenbuch*, 310b,
 oder ist aprik von parāku zu lesen?

¹² Für seine schöne Prophezelung erwartet der Schreiber natürlich eine Belohnung.

schwierige Stellung des Königs erkennen lässt.¹³ Es wird in dem Texte von einem Orakel der Ningal und einem Ausspruch des Nusku gesprochen, ein gewisser Sasl als Thronprätendent hingestellt, Bêlachušur und andere Leute als dessen Anhänger bezeichnet. Obv. 1 ff.: a-na šarri [bêli]-[i]a ²ardu-ka ^milu nabû-ri-iḫ-tú-ušur ^{ilu}bêl ^{ilu}... tum ^{ilu}ištar ša ^{alu}ninua ^{ilu}ištar ša ^{alu}arba-il ûmê^{meš} ar[kûti a-na še-ri-i]k(?) -ti ⁴li-di-nu-nik-ka ša ina lib da-ab-ti ša la(?) ... ka ⁵u ina lib a-di-e-ka iḫ-ṭu-u-ni ^{ilu}nin(?) -gal(?) ... ḫal(?) -šu-nu ⁶šum-šu-nu zêr-šu-nu ištu lib êkalli-ka ḫal-li-ku a-na ... ⁷šum(tak)-ru-ur niše^{meš} šà itti ^msa-si-i ú-du-u-[ni] ... ⁸a-ni-nu šarru be-li da-ba-bu ša ^{ilu}nin-gal ú ... ⁹li-mu-tu napšâte^{meš} -ka napšâte^{meš} ša qin-ni-ka ... ¹⁰abu eli ummi ka-lu-šu-nu li-im-tu ... ¹¹napšâte^{meš} -ka la tu-hal-la-qa šarru-u-tu ištu qâtê? ... ¹²a-ni-nu šarru be-l[i] lib da-ba-bi ^{ilu}nin-[gal] ... (Reste von drei ganz zerstörten Zeilen.) Rv. ¹is-su-ri i ... ²liš-ú-lu ma-a amtu ša ^mbêl-aḫ-ušur... ša... ina el[i] ... ³ma-a ina lib ^{arhu}simâni sa-ar-ḫa-at ma-a da-ba-bu damiq ina muḫ-ḫi ⁴ta-da-bu-bu ma-a a-bit ^{ilu}nusku ši-i ma-a šarru-u-tu a-na ^msa-si-i ⁵ma-a šumu zêru ša ^milu sin-aḫḫê-erba ú-hal-la-qa ^{amêlu}rab-mu-gi-ka(?) ⁶ina šap-la abulli ša bît ^{ilu}nabû bît ^milu bêl -aḫ-ušur liš-al ^{amêlu}še-e-tú-k[a] ⁷amtu ina bît ^msa-si-i u-bi-lu-ni lu-bi-lu-ni-ši dul-u šarri(?) ... ⁸ina muḫ-ḫi-ša li-pu-šu ^mbêl-aḫ-ušur ištu ^{alu}harrâni lu-bi-lu-ni ^{ilu}nusku ... ⁹šumu zêru ša ^msa-si-i ša ^mbêl-aḫ-ušur ša niše ša is-si-šu-nu ú-du-[u-ni] ¹⁰li-iḫ-li-iq šumu zêru ša šarri bêli-ia ^{ilu}bêl ^{ilu}nabû a-na nin(?) ... nu ¹¹itti ^mar-da-a lid-bu-bu ma-a ûmu XXVII kâmina nu-bat-ti ma-a a-na [^msa-]si-i ¹²amêlu ša eli âli ^mištar -nâdinat-aplu ^{amêlu}a.ba ma-a si-mu-

¹³ Allerdings wird Assarhaddon nicht mit Namen genannt, sondern es wird nur die Möglichkeit der Vernichtung des Namens und der Nachkommenschaft Sanheribs Erwähnung getan. Aber am wahrscheinlichsten ist es doch, dass es sich um Vorgänge zu Beginn oder Ende der Regierung Assarhaddons handle.

nu ha ¹³ il-li-ku-ni itti ^ma-ú-ia-a-ni ^{amēlu} rēšu
 ni ¹⁴ ma-a ^mištar-nâdinat-aplu ^{amēlu} a.ba ma-a
^milu nabû -eṭir ^{ir} ^{ilu} aššur(?) ¹⁵ ma-a ūmu
 XXVIII^{kam} ma-a ^msa-si-i me-i-nu ina muḥ-ḫi ^{ilu}(?)
 aššur(?) arḫu ina ūme II-e ūme^{me} ^msa-si-i
 is-si-ka itti ^{amēlu} ¹⁷ id-bu-bu ma-a a . . . a
 me-i-nu ša ta ¹⁸ ^{amēlu} rab-mu-gi ni(?)
 sâbê ^{meš} ¹⁹ ^mištar[-nâdinat-aplu]
^{amēlu}(?) a.b[a?] ²⁰ is-si-šu-nu itti ^msa-
 si-i ú-du-u-ni ²¹ ^{meš} -ka aḫḫê-abi^{meš} -ka
 maššarti-ka li-šu-ru ²² tu-qu-nu ina êkalli-
 ka ši-bi ²³ ut napšâte^{meš} -ka še-zib. "An den
 König, [meinen] [Herrn], dein Diener Nabûrichtušur.¹⁴ Bêl und
 Istar von Ninive, Istar von Arbêla mögen lange Tage [zum
 Geschen]ke(?) dir geben. In Betreff der Wohltat und sich
 gegen die dir geschworenen Eide vergangen haben Ningal . . . ihr
 . . , ihr Name, ihre Nachkommenschaft ist in deinem Palaste
 ausgetilgt, zu , die Vernichtung(?) der Leute, die mit
 Sasi¹⁵ konspirieren¹⁶ wir, o König, mein Herr, den Aus-
 spruch der Ningal mögen sterben, Vater, Mutter allesamt
 mögen? dein Leben wirst du nicht zugrunde richten,
 das Königtum aus den Händen wir, o König, mein Her[r],
 in Betreff des Ausspruches der Nin[gal]. . . . " (Reste von 3 ganz
 verstümmelten Zeilen.) Rv. 2 ff. . . . mögen sie fragen. Die
 Magd des Bêl-aḫ-ušur im Sivân ist sie—¹⁷, der
 Ausspruch ist günstig. In Bezug, dass ihr(?) sagtet, ein Bescheid
 des Nuku ist es: "Die Königsherrschaft wird Sasi zufallen, Name
 und Nachkommenschaft des Sanherib wird er zugrunde richten,"

¹⁴ Derselbe Schreiber erscheint in [1031] K. 7395, doch ist der Brief zusehr verstümmelt, als dass sich daraus etwas entnehmen liesse.

¹⁵ Für Personen mit diesem Namen vgl. Bezold, *Cat.*, V, 2183a. Ein Sasi scheint Priester gewesen zu sein, da er [1004] K. 1963 mit Adad-šum-ušur und Arad-Ea zusammen genannt wird.

¹⁶ Zu idû itti im Sinne von "im Einverständnisse sein," "konspirieren" vgl. *Polit. religiös. Texte*, Nr. 44, obv. 14.

¹⁷ Zu sarâḫu vgl. man die bei Tallqvist, *Neubabl. Namenbuch*, 327a, angeführten Namen Addu-sarah, Nabu-ana-Ka-tum-sirih. Darf für unsere Stelle 𐎶𐎵 verglichen werden? (im Sinne von "ausgelassen" ?). Bezieht sich sarâḫu noch auf amtu, im letzteren Falle würde man allerdings für sarâḫu auf eine Bedeutung "krank sein" ("schwanger sein" ?) raten, da mit der Magd ein dultu vorgenommen wird.

so möge dein(?) Bevollmächtigter(?)¹⁸ unterhalb des Tores des Nabûtempels das Haus (die Familie) des Bêlachušur befragen. De[*in*] Šêtu, der die Magd aus dem Hause des Sasî gebracht, möge sie bringen, den Kult des(?) Königs(?) . . . möge man vor ihr vollziehen. Bel-aḥ-ušur aus Harrân möge man bringen. Nusku möge . . . Name und Nachkommenschaft des Sasî, des Bel-aḥ-ušur und der Leute, die mit ihnen konspirier[en], vernichten, Name und Nachkommenschaft des Königs, meines Herrn, (möge?) Bêl, Nabû zu. . . . Mit Ardâ möge man sprechen. Am 27., am Abend, zu [Sa]sî, dem(?) Stadtvorsteher, Istar-nâdinat-aplu, dem Schreiber¹⁹ sie gingen mit Aniiâni, dem Vorsteher . . . Istar-nâdinat-aplu, der Schreiber, Nabû-êtir. . . . Am 28. Sasî, was er vor Assur(?) Im Monat, am 2., dem Tage, da Sasî mit dir. . . . (3 verstümmelte Zeilen) mit ihnen, mit Sasî konspirieren deine . . . , deine Vatersbrüder mögen dich schützen, in deinem Palaste verweile, dein Leben rette."

Von den aus der Zeit Assurbanipals stammenden Briefen beanspruchen das meiste Interesse diejenigen, welche sich mit der Erhebung von Šamaš-šum-ukīn²⁰ und mit den damit zusammenhängenden Kämpfen beschäftigen. Zu Beginn des Aufstandes fällt die durch Šamaš-šum-ukīn veranlasste Empörung der Gurasimmu, über die ja schon einige Berichte vorliegen.²¹ Näheres bringt darüber der Text [1241] 83–1–18, 53, der schon von Waterman, *AJSL*, XXIX, 14, veröffentlicht²² und 32 ff. bearbeitet wurde. Es zeigt sich, dass die mangelnde Unterstützung von Seiten Assyriens, das Ausbleiben der Truppen der assyrischen Statthalter, die Gurasimmu dem Feinde in die Arme getrieben hat. Wichtig ist obv. 14 ff., wo angegeben wird, welche Städte im gegenwärtigen Augenblicke noch zu Assyrien

¹⁸ Darf man etwa *mugu/i* in *rab-mu-gu/i* (vgl. die Stellen, *Beamtentum*, 52') mit *emûqu* zusammenbringen, das ja in den Briefen öfters als *mûqu* (vgl. Behrens, *Briefe*, 79') erscheint? Hierzu würde auch die von Ungnad, *ZDMG*, LXV, 607, erwähnte Schreibung *rab-mu-û-gu* (*VS*, CXVII, 3) passen. Die Grundbedeutung des Titels wäre dann "Machthaber," "Bevollmächtigter." Doch unsicher.

¹⁹ Vgl. [15] K. 1197, obv. 8, etwa Nebenform zu *simânu*, *simenu* (*Beamtentum*, 81')?

²⁰ Ueber den Verlauf des Aufstandes siehe zuletzt *Polit. relig. Texte*, LXIII ff.

²¹ Vgl. *AJSL*, a.a.O. 108.

²² Obv. 12 liest die Ausgabe richtig (gegen W.) *kulla bki* wie ich mich durch Kollation überzeugte.

halten: a-du-ú ^{amēlu} gu-ra-sim-mu gab-bi it-ti-ik-ru
¹⁵ ālu ina lib-bi ša it-ti ^{mātu} aššur ^{ki} u-šu-uz-zu
¹⁶ ia-a-nu al-la uru ^{ki} ālu ki-sig ¹⁷ u ^{ālu} ša-ad-dina. ²²
 "Und nun sind die Gurasimmu insgesamt abgefallen, eine Stadt
 ausser(!) Ur, Kisig und Šaddina ist nicht darunter, die es mit Assyrien
 hält." alla kann an unserer Stelle nicht die Bedeutung "mehr
 als" haben ²⁴ (so W.), sondern heisst hier "ausser," "ausgenommen."
 Diese Bedeutung von alla hat bereits Thompson, *Late Babylonian
 Letters*, XXXVI, erkannt, sie geht aus verschiedenen Briefstellen klar
 hervor, so aus Nr. 212, rv. 12: ia-a-nu al-la ištēn ^{en} alpu
 u ištēn ^{en} ^{amēlu} irrišu. Nr. 227, rv. 20: al-la IC qanê--ia-
 a-nu, vgl. noch [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 6f.: man-ma ina
 lib-bi ia-a-nu al-la II C šâbê ^{meš}. Auch in dem mit [1241]
 eng zusammenhängenden Text [942] hat alla dieselbe Bedeutung, ²⁵
 vgl. obv. 5ff.: šanâte ^{meš} a-ga-a ma-šar-ti ⁶ ša
 šarri be-li-ni ni-it-ta-šar ⁷ ālāni ^{meš} ša ^{amēlu} gur-
 ra-sim-mu ^{amēlu} pi-qu-du ⁸ ū māt-tam-tim ki iḫ-
 tab-tu-'u ⁹ ālu aš-bu ina lib-bi ia-a-nu al-la
¹⁰ uru ^{ki} ?-lil ^{ki} eridu ^{ki} ¹¹ ū ^{ālu} ša-ad (!)-dina ^{na} ri-eš-su
¹² ul-tu ^{amēlu} na-kar ina muḫ-ḫi . . . ¹³ ^{amēlu} e-muq ^{meš}
 ša šarri bi "(Soundsovieler) Jahre hielten wir die Wache
 des Königs, unseres Herrn. Die Städte der (?) Gurasimmu, wie die
 Puqudäer und das Meerland sie plünderten, von ihnen blieb keine
 übrig ausser Ur, ?, Eridu und Šattena. Von Anfang seit der Feind
 gegen . . . die Truppen des Königs" Die Stadt Šattena
 ist mit einigen wenigen anderen Assyrien treu geblieben und hat nun
 den Angriff der Puqudäer zu erleiden. Hierauf weist [1241], rv. 1ff.
 hin: ²⁶ a-na lib-bi ša ri-eš-su it-ti bitâti ^{meš}-ni qa-
 ta-ni ^{amēlu} pu-qu-du u ^{mātu} tam-tim i-zi-'i-ru-na-

²² Spielende Schreibung, die wohl auch [942], obv. 11 vorliegt (statt ša-nin-dina der Ausgabe). Die Stadt heisst šatte/ina, wie die Schreibung ša-at-te-na-a-a in [942], obv. 2 deutlich zeigt.

²⁴ Vgl. Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 52 f.

²⁵ alla hat Figulla, *MVAG*, XII (1912), 24, 38, ganz verkannt, er übersetzt mit "ach" und "unbedeutend sein." Was Weidner, *Babyloniaca*, VI, 246 f., über alla (nach ihm "siehe") vorbringt, ist ganz haltlos. Thompson, *Rep.* 124, rv. 6 f., ist natürlich zu übersetzen: "Wer ist mein Gott, wer ist mein Herr, auf wen sind meine Augen gerichtet, ausser auf den König, meinen Herrn."

²⁶ Ich nehme an, dass die Absender von [1241] die Leute von Šattena sind, vgl. auch Waterman, *a.a.O.* 33.

a-šu. "Was anbetrifft, dass wir vom Anfang²⁷ an (oder kürzlich?) mit unseren Häusern (Familien) vernichtet sind, (so) hassten uns die Puqudäer und das Meerland."²⁸

Eine wichtige Rolle spielte während des Aufstandes Sintabniuşur, Sohn von Ningaliddina, Statthalter von Ur. Seine Stellung zu Assurbanipal während der Empörung Šamašsumukīns ist noch nicht ganz aufgeklärt. Omentexte und Briefe bringen bisher darüber keine endgültige Entscheidung, auch [1274] K. 471 (früher von Waterman, a.a.O. 15 veröffentlicht), gibt keinen näheren Aufschluss darüber,²⁹ der Text ist ein Brief von Sin-šar-uşur und den Bewohnern von Ur an den König. Von Sintabniuşur rühren in den neuen Bänden zwei Briefe her, die ziemlich verstümmelt, kaum etwas zur Kenntnis seiner Geschichte und seiner Persönlichkeit beitragen. [1207] 81-2-4, 112: ¹[a-na šar mâtâte be-lī]-ia ardu-ka ^mlu sin-tabni-uşur ²... me a-na šar mâtâte be-lī-ia ³... ^mlu sin-šar-uşur ul-tu lib-bi ⁴... a-na uruk^{k1} il-li-ku ⁵... ma-a-a ^{amēlu} bēl-da-ba-bi-ia ⁶... [^mlu sin-]šar-uşur... rv. 2 ff. a-du-ú sa(?)... ³... erē aš-ša-bat lu-u a... ⁴[a-na] šarri be-lī-ia a-sap-pa-ra-aš-šu ⁵[šarru] bēli-a li-iš-'a-al-šu-ma ⁶[k]i-nu-ú-ti ša ardi it-ti ⁷be-lī-šu šarru bēli-a ⁸li-mur. Rv. 3 ff.: "... aus Erz fasste ich... ⁴[dem] König, meinen Herrn, sandte ich ihn [der König], mein Herr, möge ihn befragen, die [Tr]eue des Dieners gegenüber seinem Herrn, möge der König, mein Herr, sehen."³⁰ Der zweite von Sintabniuşur stammende Brief ist [1248] 83-1-18, 135, er scheint teilweise auf frühere Vorgänge hinzuweisen, er erwähnt Ningaliddina, den Vater des Absenders, Zêrkittilšir, der wohl sicher identisch ist mit Nabû-zêrkittilšir, dem Sohne des Mardukapaliddin, und schliesslich Nabûbêlšumâte. Die Umschrift des verstümmelten Textes lautet, obv. 1 ff.: a-na šar mâtâ[te be-lī-ia ardu-ka] ²^mlu sin-tab-ni-uşu[r] [lu-u šulmu^mu] ³ana šar mâtâte be-l[ī-ia]... ⁴^mlu nin-gal-iddina... ⁵ina šilli

²⁷ Vgl. Figulla, a.a.O. 10.

²⁸ W. kaum richtig "because of its preeminence (?) with its temples we are ruined."

²⁹ Vgl. dazu *Polit. relig. Texte*, LXIV, 2.

³⁰ Vgl. [521] 83-1-18, 4, obv. 18: šarru bēli-a ki-nu-tu ša ardi-šu... it-ti bit bēli-šu im-mar.

šarrāni^{meš} ab[ā^{meš}-ka] . . . ⁶i-pu-šú(?) māt-tam-
tim u . . . ⁷it-ti ^mzêr-kit-ti-[līšir] ⁸ki-i il-li-ku
. . . . ⁹iḫ-te-bu-ú u a ¹⁰ina šilli šarri š[ā?]
. . . . ¹¹ki-i e-pu-šu ¹²bītu ki-i ú
^{13 m} ^{11u}nabû-bêl-šumâte^{meš} ¹⁴il-li-ku šu
¹⁵šā t[i] Für Z. 5 ist [920] obv. 8 ff. zu vgl.³¹: amēlu e-ku-
ša-a-a ⁹šābē^{meš} la-bi-ru-tu ša bīt abi-ia šu-nu
ša ina šilli šarrāni^{meš} abē^{meš}-ka ^m ^{11u}nin-gal-
iddina ¹²abu-ú-a ip-la-hu. Näheres über das im vorlieg-
enden Briefe berührte Verhältnis von Ningaliddina zu Zêrkittilīšir
gibt ein schon früher veröffentlichter Text [589] K. 1106, der aus
dem Anfang der Regierung Assarhaddons stammt, der Absender ist
unbekannt. Obv. 3 ff.: ša ^mzêr-kit-ti-līšir a-dar . . .
⁴ú-šab-bi-ta-an-na-šu ù ⁵ú-ḫa-ap-pu-ú um-
ma mi ⁶ši-pir-ti a-na ^m ^{11u}nin-gal-i[ddi-
na^{na}] ⁷taš-pu-ra en-na ^m ^{11u}nin-gal-[iddina^{na}]
⁸ūmu^{mu}-us-su a-na muḫ-ḫi da-a-[ki³²] ⁹i-dab-bu-ub
a-du-ú amēlu mār-šipri-[ni] ¹⁰ša ši-pir-ti nid-da-
aš-šu um-m[a] ¹¹li-ḫi-e-ma a-na ^m ^{11u}nin-gal
i[ddin]^{na}] ¹²i-din um-ma la ta-pal-laḫ rv. ^m ^{11u}aššur-
ah-iddina^{na} ina kussē it-ta-[šab] ²ši-pir-ti u šal
ma-am-ma a-n[a] ³mzêr-kit-ti-līšir id-di-nu . .
⁴ša muḫ-ālu-ú-tu ša uruk^{ki} . . . ⁵a-du-ú it-ti
^m ^{11u}n[in-gal-iddina^{na}] ⁶šu-ú šarru zi-'i-ir-šu
. . . . ⁷lu-mas-si amēlu uruk^{ki}-a[-a] . . . ⁸m ^{11u}nin-gal-
iddina^{na} ⁹šu-nu šūmu(?) ša an-ni-ia-[u] . . .
"Von Zêrkittilīšir er hat uns festgenommen
zerbrochen Botschaft an Ningaliddina] täglich (mich?) zu
(er?)mordern plant er. Der Bote, welchem wir die Botschaft gaben,
folgendermassen: "Nimm und dem Ningaliddin gib(sie): 'fürchte
dich nicht, Assarhaddon hat den Thron bestiegen,'" hat die Bot-
schaft—und (sie) dem Zêrkittilīšir übergeben Stadtvor-
steherschaft von Uruk und jetzt mit N[ingaliddina] ist er."
Obv. 12 ff. ist wohl der Wortlaut der Botschaft an Ningaliddina

³¹ Als Absender von [920] ist obv. 2 natürlich ^m ^{11u}sin-tab-ni-uṣur herzustellen, wie die Erwähnung Ningaliddinas als Vater des Absenders beweist.

³² Oder vielleicht da-a-[ki-ia] zu ergänzen.

angegeben. Während der Thronwirren nach Sanheribs Tode scheint Zêrkittilšîr gegen Ningaliddina vorgegangen zu sein. Die Botschaft, welche die Neuordnung der Verhältnisse in Assyrien berichtet, soll Ningaliddina zum Widerstand ermutigen. Schliesslich wird in einem anderen Schreiben [1236] 82–5–22, 167 Sintabniušur in nicht deutlichem Zusammenhange erwähnt. Der Brief, der nicht an den König gerichtet ist, stammt aus der Zeit des babyl. Aufstandes, erwähnt Nabûbêlšumâte, die Gurasimmu, und berichtet von Abfall zu Šamaššumukîn, vgl. obv. 7 f.: ^m ^{11u} nabû- ^{11u} bêl-šumâte ^{mes} a-na ^{samêlu} gu-ra-si-im u-ri-di. Obv. 14 ff.: ^m ba-laṭ-su³³ ina ku-us-si-i ¹⁵ ša ^{amêlu} gu-ra-si-im ki-i u-ši-bi ¹⁶ a-di ṭe-mu-u um-ma ^m ^{11u} sin-tab-ni-ú-šur ¹⁷ ḥa... [n]i (?) bêl bêl mâti a-na ku-mi-ša ¹⁸... un-šu a-na muḥ-ḥi ¹⁹... ša taš-ši en-na ²⁰ a-du-ú a-na bêli-iá ²¹ .tap(?) al-tap-ra ^{11u} bêl u ²⁴ ²² ki-i a-di rv.¹ a-na pa-ni šar ^{mātu} ak-ka-di-i it-ta-ra-aš u a-na ^{mātu} aššur^{ki} ³ il-te-ši en-na a-du-ú a-na bêli-iá al(?)³⁵ -tap-ra a-na ardi ša šar ^{mātu} babilikⁱ ki-ri-im.³⁶ Wir hören also, dass Nabûbêlšumâte zu den Gurasimmu hinabgezogen ist, bei denen ein Thronwechsel stattgefunden hat. Im Folgenden ist dann von Sintabniušur die Rede und von jemanden, der sich dem Babylonier angeschlossen hat. Der Adressat scheint dann aufgefordert zu werden sich gegen diesen Knecht des Babyloniers zu wenden.

Noch in einigen anderen Briefen werden die Hauptpersonen des babylonischen Aufstandes, wie Nabûbêlšumâte, Šamaššumukîn, genannt, zum Teil stammen sie schon aus einer Zeit nach dem Aufstande, als die Kämpfe mit Elam wegen der früheren Unterstützung Babylons begannen und von Assyrien die Auslieferung Nabûbêlšumâtes verlangt wurde. Eine Anzahl davon ist schon früher von Winckler veröffentlicht worden, es handelt sich meist um stark verstümmelte Bruchstücke von Texten, deren historischer oder sonstiger Ertrag recht gering ist. Ich gebe im Folgenden zunächst die Abweichungen der beiden Ausgaben an. [1279] K. 1174, obv. 4 H.

³³ Vgl. auch [1275] K. 564, 18.

³⁴ Die Ausgabe hat *is + šit*, richtig?

³⁵ Die Ausgabe hat *il*.

³⁶ Zu *karšumu* vgl. ausser [245] K. 513, obv. 14 f. auch CT, XXIX, Pl. 3, 28457, 18.

hat als letztes Zeichen *ma*, *W. iz*, obv. 20 nach *W.* anscheinend beim ersten Zeichen ein schräger Keil mehr, also anscheinend *amēlu*. [1283] K. 2646(!), von *W.* irrtümlich als K. 2647 bezeichnet, *H.* hat das Richtige, obv. 5 *W.* . . . *ud-ka-a-ša*, *H.* . . . *ud-ka-a-a*, obv. 9 *H.* ^{11u}*en-lil* *W.* . . . ^{11u}? *ú*, obv. 10 *H.* ^{11u}*en-lil*, *W.* . . . [1]il, obv. 11 letztes Zeichen libbi fehlt bei *W.*, letztes Zeichen id bei *W.* gehört eine *Z.* tiefer, obv. 17 *H.* *ina na-ap-ša-ti*, *W.* *ina na iz . . za ti*, obv. 18 *H.* *a bit meš ši(?) -na*, *W.* *a ši[t](?) . . . [n]a*, rv. 10 *H.* . . . *pi-iḫ* ^{11u}*šamaš*, *W.* . . *ši-iḫ* ^{11u}*šamaš*, rv. 12 *H.* *ù*, *W.* . . *lu*, rv. 13 *H.* *šarru*, *W.* nichts, rv. 19 *W.* hat noch eine Zeichenspur vor *bi* am Anfang der Zeile. [1304] K. 4748, obv. 6 *H.* hat nach *ik* noch die Spur von *š[i]*, obv. 7 *H.* *šarru it*, *W.* *šarru aš pi*. Vom rv. gibt *H.* noch Zeilenreste von 4 ganz verstümmelten Zeilen, *W.* nichts. [1311] K. 5062 von *W.* irrtümlich als K. 4793 publiziert, *H.* hat das Richtige. Obv. 6 *H.* *ṭe-e-mu*, *W.* *šú ? ?*, obv. 26 *H.* *muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu*, *ḫi* fehlt bei *W.*, obv. 36 *H.* *iš-ku-nu ki-i*, *W.* *iš-ku-nu di-i*, rv. 24 *H.* *iš me šú ku*, *W.* *iš-me ku*, rv. 25 *H.* zu Beginn *ardāni*^{mes} fehlt bei *W.*, rv. 31 *H.* *ki-bit bêli-ia ma ak*, *W.* dagegen *ki-bit bêli-ia a ma ak*. [1326] K. 5473, obv. 4 *H.* *bêl-šumâte*^{mes}, *W.* hat nur *meš*, obv. 6 *H.* ^{amēlu}*gu(?) -la(?) -pa (?) -nu*, diese Zeile fehlt bei *W.*, obv. 8 *H.* *šarru* fehlt bei *W.*, obv. 9, 10 sind bei Winckler in eine Zeile zusammengezogen, und zwar Anfang der einen und das Ende der anderen wiedergegeben, *H.* obv. 9 *lu(?) amēlu(?) šu u [] a-na-ku u ahi-iá*, obv. 10 *ina âlu bit [n]abû -DU-tur(?) .uš*, *W.* hingegen nur obv. 9 *ina âlu ni m u . . na ku u aḫi-iá*. Obv. 15 *šarru(?)* fehlt bei *W.* Rv. 4 ff. erwähnt die Absendung eines Boten von Nabûbêlšumâte an Šamašsumukîn: *ul-tu ina bâbili*^{ki} *a-na-ku* ^{amēlu}*mâr-šipri [ša]* ^{s m} ^{11u}*nabû-bêl-šumate*^{mes} *ša a-na pa-an m* ^{11u}*šamaš -šum-ukîn il[-li-ka]* ⁷ⁱ*gab-bu-ú*

Der Gruppe der aus der Zeit nach Šamašsumukîn stammenden Texte gehören grösstenteils jene an, die Bêlibni, den Statthalter des Meerlandes, erwähnen oder von ihm selbst herrühren. [1320]

K. 5437a, ein Kollektivschreiben, wie obv. 3 [maššartu ša šarri] bēli-i-ni ni-iš-šur zeigt, nennt obv. 4 Bēlibni und Anhänger von (?) Nabûbēlšumâte (obv. 5 amēlu bēlē^{meš} -ṭābu (MUN.SUN)-ū-tu, man beachte diese Pluralbildung). Die Ereignisse und Verhandlungen, welche der Auslieferung des Nabûbēlšumâte aus Elam vorangiengen, behandelt [1286] K. 4275. Der Absender des Briefes ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit Bēlibni, da sich der Text inhaltlich mit den anderen Bēlibni-briefen berührt und auch in der Ausdrucksweise Verwandtschaft mit ihnen zeigt. So schreibt der Absender, wie Bēlibni šarru beli(U)-a (vgl. [792], rv. 15, 16; [794], 8, 10, 11, 14, 16) und spricht von einer paširatti. Die Zeit des Briefes dürfte ungefähr die gleiche sein, wie die von [281], [462]. Die Umschrift des Briefes lautet, obv. 2 ff.: šar^{matu} aššur^{ki}
 1 ū amēlu bēlē^{meš} -ḫi-ṭu sal . . . bīt . ? . . . 4 ū il-tap-ra um-ma a-na bīt bēli-ka šū ma ma 5 ki-i pi-an-ni-i it-ti amēlu mār-šipri ša matu elamti 6 lid-bu-bu iš-ba-tu ka-a-bi a-gab-bi ša ta-še-ru 7 gab-bi a-na eli 8 nabû-bēl-šumâte^{meš} u en-na ki-i 9 nabû-bēl-šumâte^{meš} la ta-aš-šab-ta-nim-ma a-na pāni-iā 10 la tal-tap-ra-nu ut ka ur-ku-ú al-la 11 mah-ri-i i-bi-i-iš ū il-tap-ra um-ma 12 ištēn^{en} amēlu mār-šipri ša šarri bēli-iā it-ti amēlu mār-šipri ša matu elamti^{ki} 13 a-na eli dib-bi a-ga-a a-na pa-an 14 um-man-al-da-šu 15 šarri ū a-na pa-an matu elamti^{ki} a-na ṭe-man-ni 16 liš-ša-par-ma um-ma ki-i 17 nabû-bēl-šumâte^{meš} ū 18 amēlu bēlē^{meš} -ḫi-ṭu ša [t]u-uš-šab-bi-ta-a-ma 19 il-tap-ra ša . . . nu a-šal-lim ū 20 ma ia a-na UD.NE 21 ud u ina libbi-mu(ia?) (matu) elamtu^{ki} 22 [ta] -šap-pa-ru-nu šābē^{meš} lu-ú ina lib-bi 23 il-tap-ra-a um-ma ištēt¹⁶ un-qu ša šarri bēli-iā rv. 1 ana . . ? ili ina lib-bi i-ba-aš-šu-ú aš-ša ši-bu-tu 2 at-ta-šu-ú a-na a-a-li-ia u a-na kit-ri-ia 3 li-iz-ziz pa-ši-rat-ti a-na ka-a-šu lu-še-bi-lu-nim-ma 4 ina pi-si-in-du šū-bi-la-aš-šu u il-tap-ra 5 um-ma ina ra-a-mu ša šarri bēli-iā ki-i aš-pu-ra

⁶ m^{11u} nabû-bêl-šumâte^{meš} ul-tu ša ki-i ul-te-ri-id
⁷ ina maššarti it-ti-iá is-si-ig-gu um-ma⁸ a-na
 šadi-i la i-ḫal-liq a . . . ri dib-bi ša šarri⁹ bêli-
 iá a-šim-ú šarru bêli-a a-da-? -qu¹⁰ li-mu-ú ù
^{amêlu} mun-tal-ku šu-ú a-na eli dib-bi¹¹ a-ga-a bêli-a
 ki^{11u} šamaš lim-me-lik-ma^{amêlu} mâr-šipri šarru
 bêli-a¹² a-na eli dib-bi a-ga-a šarru a-na
^{mātu} elamti^{ki} liš-pur -ma¹³ šâbê^{meš} a-bu-bu a-na
 muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu i-te-ti-iq nu-bat-ta¹⁴ ul i-bi-it-tu
^{amêlu} bêlê^{meš} -ḫi-ṭu ma-la ina pa-ni-šu-nu¹⁵ ú-šab-
 ba-tu-ma a-na êkal-li i-šap-pa-ru šâbê^{meš}¹⁶ is-sa-
 mu -ú a-na eli ša-pa-ru ša^{amêlu} mâr-šipri ana
^{mātu} elamti^{ki} [šarru] bêli-a la i-šak-kan.
 Obv. 2 ff.: "König von Assyrien und die
 Verbrecher Haus und er sandte folgendermassen,
 dem Hause deines Herrn . . .³⁷ derart mögen sie mit dem elami-
 tischen Boten sprechen. Sie haben gefangen,³⁸ sich
 ganz auf Nabûbêlšumâte bezieht, und wenn ihr Nabûbêlšumâte
 nicht ergreift und nicht zu mir sendet,³⁹ so wird die spätere . . .
 mehr als die frühere schlecht sein. Und er sandte folgendermassen:
 Ein Bote des Königs, meines Herrn, möge mit dem elamitischen
 Boten wegen dieser Angelegenheit zu Umanaldašu, dem Könige,
 und zu dem Lande Elam für unseren Bericht gesandt werden, fol-
 gendermassen: Sowie er Nabûbêlšumâte und die Verbrecher, die
 [ih]r ergriffen hab[t], sendet werde ich vollenden
 zu- in meiner(?) Mitte
 Elam sollt [ih]r senden, Soldaten darunter. Er sandte, fol-
 gendermassen: Ein Befehlsschreiben des Königs an ili
 befindet sich darunter: Auf dass ich den Wunsch erreiche(?),
 möge er zu meiner Stadt⁴⁰ und meinem Bündniss stehen, ein Aus-
 lönungsbegehren(?)⁴¹ möge man zu dir gelangen lassen, in Banden(?)⁴²

³⁷ šú ma ma kann ich nicht erklären.

³⁸ "Eine Rede (?) werde ich reden, die recht (?) ist." Uebersetzung sehr zweifelhaft, Zusammenhang unklar . ka-a-bu vielleicht schlechte Schreibung für qabû, tašeru Ableitung zweifelhaft, vgl. auch Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 42f.

³⁹ Ähnliche Stelle im Wortlaut [462] rv. 6, nur dass dort auch die Auslieferung der Boten von Šamašsumukin verlangt wird.

⁴⁰ Für eine gleiche Schreibung von šlu, vgl. Tallqvist, *OLZ*, XVI (1913), 216.

⁴¹ paširattu begegnet noch [281], rv. 2, 4; [792], obv. 7. Johnston übersetzt *JAOS*, XVIII, No. 1, 140 "guarantee"; v. Gelderen, *BA*, IV, 529, "Beglaubigung";

lasse ihn bringen. Und er sandte folgendermassen: Als ich in Liebe zu dem Könige, meinem Herrn, sandte, verbleibt⁴³ Nabûbelšumâte, seitdem ich (ihn) herunterbrachte, mit mir unter Bewachung, ins Gebirge flieht er nicht die Worte des Königs, meines Herrn, höre ich, der König, mein Herr, ein . . .⁴⁴ und ein Weiser ist er, in dieser Sache möge der König, mein Herr, wie Samaš beraten werden und einen Boten nach Elam möge der König, mein Herr, senden, die Krieger, eine Sturmflut wird ihnen vorausziehen, Nachtruhe werden sie nicht halten, die Frevler, soviel sie ihrer gefangen nehmen, werden sie zum Palaste senden, die Krieger *verlangen stürmisch*(?) nach der Absendung eines Boten nach Elam. [der König] mein Herr nicht setzen." Bêl-ibni könnte als Absender vielleicht auch für [1222] 82–5–22, 126 in Betracht kommen, die Einleitungsformel erwähnt Aššur, Šamaš und Marduk wie gewöhnlich bei Bel-ibni, vor allem lässt aber die Erwähnung der *manzazpanûti* Bêl-ibni als Absender vermuten. Bekanntlich hat Assurbanipal Bêl-ibni durch eine kgl. Proklamation zum Statthalter im Meerlande eingesetzt, [289] obv. 10 f. heisst es: ^mbêl-ibni ardu-a û ^{amêlu}manzaz-pâni-iá ana a-lik-pa-nu-ti ana muḫ-ḫi-ku-nu al-tap-ra. Der König nennt ihn also ausdrücklich seinen *manzaz-pâni*, ebenso auch [291], obv. 13 f.: ša ^{amêlu}man-za-az pani-ia at-ta. Man vgl. dazu den neuen Text obv. 1 ff.: a-na bêl šarrâni^{m[eš]}
²šal-mat qaqqadu ša ziq-ni ³il^uaššur
¹il^ušamaš u ¹il^umarduk t[a(?)]
⁴ardu bi-nu-ti qâtê šarri
⁵qaqqadu ra-bu-û il ⁶a-na šarri ša bâbi-ia la-a ⁷šum-šu ina man-za-az-pa-

OLZ, II, 157, "Geheimnis," ähnlich Figulla, a.a.O. 56, "Geheimschreiben," Behrens, *Briefe*, 3, "Friedensvorschlag." Mit Rücksicht auf die Bedeutung von *pašûru* ist noch die Uebersetzung von Behrens am genauesten. Ich möchte für *paširattu* "Auslösung," "Auslieferung," "Uebergabe" (*pašûru*, lösen, weggeben) vorschlagen.

⁴³ *pisindu* für *pisimtu* von einem Stamme *pašâmu*, vgl. Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, § 6c; zu *pašâmu* vgl. *HWB*, 532; etwa "binden," verschliessen."

⁴⁴ *sagû* zu I/1 vgl. noch Bisutuninschrift 104: ina di-na-tû a-si-lg-gu. III/1 u-ša-as-gu-u Bisut. 9; [281], rv. 26. Bedeutung wohl sicher "bleiben" mit Weissbach, *Achämeniden*, 67, § 63 i, die auch an unserer Stelle sehr gut passt. Verfehlt ist Figullas Annahme a.a.O. 58 f. *sagû* "kundtun," "öffentlich bekannt machen." F. hat die beiden Stellen Bis. 9 u. 104 zusammengeworfen, die a.a.O. 59 zitierte Stelle ist natürlich Bis. 9, Bis. 104 lässt sich aber mit "kundtun" nichts anfangen.

⁴⁵ *li-mu-û* vgl. 521, obv. 25, wahrscheinlich keine Verbalform, sondern adj.

nu-ti Sehr zu bedauern ist, das von [1284] K. 3652 nur Zeilenreste erhalten sind, der Brief beschäftigte sich allem Anschein nach mit dem Ende des Nabûbelšumâte und bot eine interessante Parallelerzählung zu dem Berichte der Annalen (*Kol.*, VII, 16 ff.). Wie in den Annalen war von der Absendung eines assyrischen Boten, von der Furcht des Elamiterkönigs, von der Einpöckelung der Leiche des Nabûbelšumâte die Rede und wurde wahrscheinlich erzählt, dass der der Leiche abgeschnittene Kopf dem Nabûqatêšabat um den Hals gehängt wurde. Ob der Brief an Assurbanipal gerichtet war, erscheint zweifelhaft, die Art, wie in rv. 5f. von der Absendung des assyrischen Boten, der die Auslieferung zu verlangen hatte, gesprochen wird, scheint eine solche Annahme nicht zu befürworten. Rv. 2 ff.: ina eli ardi-šu^m ^{11u}nabû-bêl-[šumâte] ³a-ni-ni ša(-)aḥ-ḥu? ⁴ardu šab-ta-nim -ma a-na ⁵ni-iṣ-šab-ta-šu ni-il-te-m[u] ⁶amêlu mâr-šipri ša šar mât^uaššur^{k1} ⁷uš(nit)-ka-a ša^m ^{11u}nabû-bêl-[š]umât[e] ⁸aš-šu šú-ku-ud lib-bi šar[ri] ⁹ša-lam-du ina ṭâbtⁱ ku ¹⁰ab-ka-a mâr^m ^{11u} ¹¹a-tab-ka-aš-šu-nu ¹²it-ta-za-a a-na ¹³ina ti-ik-ki ¹⁴ša-lam-du li ¹⁵lip-ḥu-ru ¹⁶is-sap-ru (3 verstümmelte Zeilenreste). "Wegen seines Knechtes Nabûbêl[šumâte]. . . . wir den Knecht ergreift, zu . . . wir vernah[men] . . der Bote des König von Assyrien . . von Nabûbêl[šumât[e]. . . um zittern zu machen das Herz des Köni[gs], . . den Leichnam in Salz führt weg den Sohn des ich führte sie hinweg er gieng heraus zu. . . an den Hals . . den Leichnam sandten . . ." (3 verstümmelte Zeilenreste).

Auch von neuveröffentlichten Befehlsschreiben des Königs an seine Beamte oder seine Untertanen bezieht sich eines auf Vorgänge in Elam. Es ist dies [1260], ein Text, der sich eng mit dem früher veröffentlichten [295] berührt. Ich lasse zunächst den neuen Text in Umschrift und Uebersetzung folgen. Obv. 1 ff.: a-mat šarri a-na^m am-ba-ab-[te?] ²ù amêlu mât^ura-ša-a-a amêlu šibûte^{meš} ³ù šah-ru-ti šulmu^{mu} a-a-ši ⁴lib-ba-ku-nu lu ṭâb-ku-nu-ši ⁵ultu ri-še ṭâbt^u a-na

mātu^{elamti}ki¹ ⁶ki-i i-pu-šú(?) ù šú-nu ⁷ṭābta-a-a
 ul u-tir-ú muk(?) ⁸amēlu^u ma-aq-tu-te šú-nu ul-tú
⁹libbi šarrāni^{meš} ad-di rubē^{meš} ¹⁰aḥ-te-ši-in
 akalāti^{meš} u mē^{meš} ¹¹at-ta-din u a-na māti-šú-nu
¹²al-ta-par-šú-nu-ti ¹³ù šú-nu amēlu^u mārē-šipri^{meš}
 -ia ¹⁴šà a-na šulme^{me} aš-pu-ru ¹⁵ik-te-su-ú u a-na
 kit-ri ¹⁶šà ardi-ia ša iḥ-da-a ¹⁷.?ti-in(?) u is-su
 ilāni^{meš} -iá ¹⁸[qât]ê ardi-iá ša iḥ-da-a rv. (verstüm-
 melte Zeilen) ¹. us . . ²aḥ-te-ši-nu u ina ša-me?
³[al?]-tak-nu- uš en-na ⁴. . ^mum-man-al-da-si ⁵. .
 [iš]-pu-ru um-ma bēl-ḥi-di-iá ⁶. . šú-ú ki-i iš-pu-ra
⁷. . [b]l̥t (?) i-taḥ-ḥir(?) -ru at-ta ⁸. . . . gal(?)
 -la(?) . . . [s]i(?) -ti ⁹. . šú-ub(?) -na-a-ti al-lak-ma
¹⁰. . . ši ši lib(?) . . . a-dab-bu-ub ¹¹. . . i ud(?) . .
 iš ma ¹². . šēpē-ia iṣ-sab-ba-tu-'u ¹³. . it-ti ^mtam-
 mar- id ¹⁴. . . šú a-na-ku ka . . . ¹⁵. qât-a-a ki
 pa-ni-šú a ¹⁶ia-'a-nu-ú ki-i ša ¹⁷u aš[šur]
¹⁷ù ilāni^{meš} -iá u-sal-ú-i[n-ni] ¹⁸ip-pu-uš ¹⁹ār-
 ka-nis lib-ba-ti-iá ²⁰ma-la i-mal-lu ²¹a-du-u ki-i
 aš-pur ²²uзнê-ku-nu ap-te-te. "Befehlschreiben des
 Königs an die Rašäer, gross und klein. Mir geht es gut, möge
 euer Herz fröhlich sein. Von Anfang an, als ich dem Lande Elam
 Gutes erwies, haben sie das Gute nicht vergolten. Flüchtlinge sind
 sie, deren Könige und Magnaten ich in Schutz genommen, (denen)
 ich Speise und Trank gegeben und die ich in ihr Land zurückge-
 sandt habe,⁴⁵ sie aber haben meine Boten, die ich zur Begrüssung
 gesandt, gefangen genommen und zum Bündnis mit meinem Diener,⁴⁶
 der sich vergangen . . . von⁴⁷ meinen Göttern—die [Hän]de meines
 Dieners, der sich vergangen . . . " (Rv. 2–15, grösstenteils ver-
 stümmelt und Zusammenhang nicht herstellbar.) Rv. 16 ff.:
 "Nicht wahr, wie ich(?) Assur und meine Götter gebeten habe,
 wird er tun. Später mit Zorn gegen mich, wird er nicht(!?)⁴⁸
 erfüllt sein. Und jetzt, sowie ich geschrieben, habe ich euch auf-

⁴⁵ Spielt auf die Wiedereinsetzung Tamarits an.

⁴⁶ Wohl Nabûbêlsumâte.

⁴⁷ Zu i ssu vgl. Landsberger bei Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 547.

⁴⁸ Ich übersetze nach 295, rv. 10 (siehe sofort), vielleicht ist sal vor ma ausgefallen, also mim ma la zu lesen?

geklärt." Der Paralleltext, der eine andere Fassung aufweist, sei zum Vergleiche hierhergesetzt. [295], obv. 1 ff.: a-mat šarri a-na amêlu mâtura-ša-a-a samêlušibûte^{meš} u šah-ru-ú-ti ³šulmu^{mu} ia-a-ši lib-ba-ku-nu ⁴lu-u ṭab-ku-nu-ši mi-nam-ma ⁵a-na-ku i-na ra-a-mi ša mâtuelamti^{ki} ⁶a-ra-am bêt-ṭābtī-ia u bêt-šāl-ti-ia ⁷ul u-ba-ša a-na gab-bi ṭābtu ⁸e-pu-uš u šú-nu li-mut-ti ⁹e-tip-šú-ú-ni ri-eš-su ina úmê^{meš} ¹⁰ša mur-tak ul-tu bu-bu-ti ¹¹i-na mâtuelamti^{ki} ur . . . ¹². . . šú-u-ni a-na . . . rv. bêt . . . ². . . ú ma it . . . ³. bêt-di-ni-ia . . . me ilāni^{meš} d[i] . . . ⁴[i]-tab-bu-ub. ša an uznā-šu a-mat . . . ⁵[i]š-bat-tu-ú lil-li-kam-ma ⁶it-ti^m tam-mar-íd li-iš-bat ⁷ia-'a-nu-ú ki-i ša ^{11u}aššur ⁸ú ^{11u}marduk ilê^{meš}-e-a ⁹u-sal-ú-in-ni ip-pu-uš ¹⁰mimma lib-ba-ti-ia la i-mal-l[u]. "Befehlsschreiben des Königs an Ambab[te] und die Rašäer, gross und klein, Mir geht es gut, möge euer Herz fröhlich sein. Wie habe ich (doch) in meiner Liebe zu Elam meinen Freund und meinen Feind nicht in Schmach gebracht, Jedem habe ich Gutes erwiesen, sie aber haben mir Böses erwiesen. Seit in den Tagen Urtakus, aus Hunger in Elam" Rv. 1-4 verstümmelt rv. 5 ff.: "Nicht wahr, wie ich(?) Aššur und Marduk, meine Götter, gebeten habe, wird er tun, mit irgendwelchem Zorn gegen mich wird er nicht erfüllt sein." Einer amat šarri gehört jedenfalls auch [1186] Rm. 902 an, ein Text, der eine Aufforderung zum Angriff und zum Ausharren gegen feindliche Uebermacht enthält. Obv. 3 ff.: ù at-tu-nu a-ta-a ki-i ⁴an-ni-ú ta-mur-a-ni šà du-a-ki ⁵la ta-du-ú-ka ša ša-ba-te ⁶la ta-aš-ba-ta ša il-lik-ú-nin-ni ⁷šu-nu-ú ina muḥ-ḫi-ku-nu ma-'a-du ⁸ú-ma-a la ta-pal-la-ḫa ⁹maššartu šà bît-ilāni^{meš}-ia uš-ra ¹⁰šú(?) -ú gab-bi-šu-ma ina lib āli e-sir ¹¹ù e-mu-qi-ia la-bi-ú-šu ¹²ú-ma-a bi-id amêlu^{meš} mār-šipri-šu ¹³tam-mar-a-ni šà du-a-ki ¹⁴lib(?) amêlu(?) -ka ša ša-ba-te šab-ta "Und ihr, warum habt ihr, wie ihr diesen saht, nicht getötet, nicht gefangen genommen? Die gekommen, sind die zahlreicher als ihr? Aber jetzt fürchtet euch nicht,

haltet die Wache meiner Tempel. Er ist insgesamt in der Stadt eingeschlossen und meine Truppenmacht umringt ihn. Und jetzt, sobald ihr seinen Boten seht, *tölet(?)*,⁴⁹ nehmt gefangen.”⁵⁰

Recht interessant ist der Text [1195] 80-7-9, 16. Gemäss der ersten Zeile ist er ein an Assurbanipal gerichtetes Schreiben, den wesentlichen Teil des Textes macht der Wortlaut zweier “Anfragen” aus, deren Phraseologie mancherlei Uebereinstimmungen mit den schon bekannten “Anfragen” und “Berichten” aufweist. Die erste Anfrage bezieht sich auf das Verhalten des elamitischen Königs Tammari^{ti} und sucht zu erfahren, ob er innerhalb eines bestimmten Termins die assyrische Grenze angreifen werde, die zweite erkundigt sich, wie sich die Puqudäer zu Assyrien stellen würden, falls sie die Nachricht von einem elamitischen Angriff gegen Assyrien erhielten. Die letzte Zeile bemerkt anscheinend, dass die Anfrage auf eine Meldung von Kudurru (des Statthalters von Uruk?) hin erfolgte, Zeit des Textes ist höchst wahrscheinlich die des Aufstandes von Šamašsumukin. Der Text lautet: ¹duppu a-na ^milu aššur-bân- aplu šar ^{mātu}ilu aššur^{ki} ši(?) . . . ²um-ma ^mtam-mar-i-ti šar ^{mātu}elamti^{ki} šābê^{meš} -šu ? . . . ³a-na me-šir ša ^{mātu}ilu aššur tēbu ši-ih-ṭu šā li[muttim^{tim}] ⁴ip-pu-šú a-mat- ú ki-en-tum ša-lim-ti š[i-i] ⁵ištu lib-bi ūmu^{mu} an-ni-i ūmu^{mu} I kamša arḫi an-ni-e arbu a[ddari] ⁶šā šatti an-nit adi lib ūmu I kamša arḫi e-r[i]-bi arbu . . . ⁷šā šatti an-nit-ti šābê^{meš} emû[qu] ^mtam-mar-i-[ti] ⁸šar ^{mātu}elamti^{ki} a-na epêš^{es} kakku qablu u tapdu-ú . . . ⁹ti-bi ši-ih-ṭi ša limuttim^{tim} a-na mešir ^{mātu}aš[šur] ¹⁰lu-ú a-na nippur^{ki} illak-ú^{meš} -ni (Trennungsstrich) rv. ki-ma ^{amēlu}šābê^{meš} ^{amēlu}pu-qu-da-a-a ²ša uš-ši-ú an-ni-i ³šā šar ^{mātu}elamti^{ki} il-te-mu-ú ⁴ib-ba-al-kit-ú i-na-du-ú ⁵it-ti ^milu aššur-bân- aplu šar ^{mātu}ilu aššur^{ki} (Trennungsstrich) ⁶ina eli ṭe-e-me ša ^mku-[dur-ru?] (Trennungsstrich). “Brief an Assurbanipal, König von Assyrien folgendermassen: Tammari . . .

⁴⁹ Man erwartet du-ú-ka.

⁵⁰ [1256] Bu. 91-5-9, 2, ein anderes Befehlsschreiben (obv. 1 a-m[at] šarri) ist verstümmelt, so dass sich daraus nichts entnehmen lässt.

seine Krieger . . . auf die assyrische Grenze Angriff, bösen Ueberfall unternehmen sie. Ist die Botschaft wahr, richtig? Werden vom heutigen Tage, dem ersten des laufenden Monats, des Ad[dar?], des laufenden Jahres, bis zum ersten des f[ol]genden Monats, des . . . , des laufenden Jahres, die Krieger, [Tru]ppen von Tammar[iti]; König von Elam, um Waffengang, Kampf und Niederlage zu liefern . . . zum Angriff, bösen Ueberfall⁶¹ gegen die assyrische Grenze oder gegen Nippur ziehen? (Trennungsstrich) rv. Sowie die Krieger der Puqudäer, die ausgezogen, diese (Kunde) über Elam vernommen haben werden, werden sie abfallen, abtrünnig(?) werden von Assurbanipal, König von Assyrien? (Trennungsstrich). In Bezug auf den Bericht von Ku[durru?].” Mit u m m a wird in Z. 2 der Wortlaut einer erhaltenen Nachricht eingeleitet, ebenso wie in K. 159, rv. 7 (*Polit. relig. Texte*, Nr. 105), sie reicht bis Z. 4, dann folgt der Text, der auf Grund dieser Nachricht vorzunehmenden oder vorgenommenen Anfrage, er wird durch eine Terminbestimmung eingeleitet, wie fast immer bei den “Anfragen an Samaš” und zuweilen bei den “Leberschauberichten.” Falls in der Terminangabe Addar als Anfangsmonat herzustellen wäre, müsste das Jahr Schaltjahr sein, da die Frist innerhalb ein und desselben Jahres fällt, fiel sie schon zum Teil in das folgende, müsste ša šatti eribti stehen, vgl. *Polit. relig. Texte*, XIII. In Z. 3 ist sinngemäss etwa “Tammarit versammelt seine Krieger” zu ergänzen.

Zwei kurze Berichte über Elam sind [1323] und [1348]. Der erste lässt sich annähernd datieren, da er den König Indabigaš erwähnt, der zweite eine Meldung über den Aufenthalt des elamitischen Königs ist undatierbar, vgl. obv. 4 ff.: $\text{te-emu šà šar mätu elamtiki}^{\text{kl}} \text{šar mätu elamtiki}^{\text{kl}} \text{ina šadu-ú}^{\text{62}} \text{akab- ra-a-ti šu-ú}^{\text{7}} \text{. . . ú-na-me-sa ina lib-bi-ma šu-ú}$. Ein ausführlicherer Brief aus Uruk [1309] K. 4796, der den König Umanigaš erwähnt, ist möglicherweise Kudurru oder Nabû-uštabši zuzuschreiben, wie die Einleitungsformel vermuten lässt vgl. obv. 3 [Uruk ù] ê-an-na [ana šar mâtâte bēli-ia] ⁴lik-ru-bu ūmu^{mu}-us-su [^{11u}ištar uruk^{kl} ù ^{11u}na-na-a]

⁶¹ Andere Stellen, an denen die Verbindung tibu šibtu ša limuttim vorkommt, siehe *Polit. relig. Texte*, LIX, und ebenda Anm. 4; zu šaḫātu vgl. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, X, 97^a, und *Sargon*, 4^a, 14^a, Bezold, *ZA*, XXVIII, 405.

⁶a-na balâṭ napšâte^{meš} ša šarri [bêli-ia ú-ṣal-li].
 Ich gebe im Folgenden die Umschrift des stark zerstörten Briefes.
 Obv. 6ff.: ša šarru be-lī-a iṣ-pu-ra
⁷um-ma ḫi-ṭu-ia a-na ⁸ša sisê^{meš} ?
 ⁹amêlu pu-qu-du ù ¹⁰ù šu-
 pa-la an ¹¹it-ti-ni lu-ú ¹²i-na
 lib-bi -šū-nu nim-ḫa[-aṣ] ¹³a-na šarri
 be-lī-ia uš ? ¹⁴a-na tar-di-ti ša siṣ[ê^{meš}]
 ¹⁵al-tap-ra ṭe-e-m[u] ^mum-man-i-
 ga-aš ki-i ¹⁷alu ha-a-da-lu ite-ru-ub
¹⁸ù mātu par-su-maš it-ti-šu ^m ¹⁹māri-šu ša
^mum-man-ni-ga-aš ù ²⁰it-ti-šu ki-i il-li-k[a]
 ²¹it-ta-di pu-ru-us-su-u[]
²²ul iṣ-ša-kin a-di e-kur ²³sa-aḫ-lu a-na
 amêlu rabāni^{meš} ²⁴iṣ-pur-ma lik-b[u-u]
 ²⁵bābilu^{ki} ²⁶mīlu nabû-qatê -ṣa-
 [bat] rv. ¹ù . . . da a[t] ²mīlu šamaš-
 šum-u[kfn] ³iṣ-pu-ra amêlu mār-šipri ša
 ⁴matu a-ra-šu it-ti-šu-nu
⁵šabê^{meš} it-ti-šu-nu ru ⁶matu ilu aššur^{ki}
 lu-še-ti-qu ⁷bābilu^{ki} lu ⁸ul i-
 nam-gu-ru ka (?) ⁹u pān aḫḫê^{meš} -ni
 ki-i ¹⁰a-na ki-i ni-il-li[-ka] ¹¹id-
 du-uk-ku ù amêlu mātu ¹²i-ṣap-par-am-ma
 um t[u] ¹³a-du-ú i-na alu ša-ma
¹⁴a-ki-i ša aš-mu-ú a-na šarri ¹⁵šarru
 be-lī-a lu-ú i-di ¹⁶um-ma ^mīlu marduk-zêr-
 ib-[ni] ¹⁷ilu šamaš ù ¹⁸īlu marduk šarri bēli
 ¹⁹ša šarru be-lī-a iḫ-su-sa ²⁰ul
 a-mur ù man-ma ul ²¹[šarru be-]ll-a iṣ-pu-
 ra ²² šū-nu aḫu rabu-ú [] (verstümmelte
 Reste).

Mit Elam beschäftigt sich auch [1280] K. 1545, ein Text, der eine Zuweisung an eine bestimmte Regierung nicht gestattet. Es scheint, dass darin die Reden, bzw. die Drohungen, die eine gewisse Persönlichkeit (oder eine Gottheit?) über Elam vorgebracht, wiedergegeben werden. Soviel zu erschen, handelt es sich darum, dass

diese Persönlichkeit die Symbolwaffe(?) einer Gottheit zu zerstören beabsichtigt oder zerstört hat und daraus(?) Unheil für Elam erwartet wird. ¹dib-bi a a ²ki-i an-[ni-i] i[]-gab-bi ³ma-a at-? . . . [it]-tal-ka ⁴V-šu VI-šu iḫ-[ṭi-bi]? id-da-a-te ⁵ma-a ina eli ^{1ṣu}[nir]-an-ti at-tal-ka ⁶ma-a širu šà ina lib-bi-ša as-sa-ad-da ⁷ab-ta-taq ù ma-a ^{1ṣu}nir-an-tu ⁸aḥ-te-pi ù ma-a mātu elamtu ⁹a-ḥap-pi (Trennungskeile) ina idē^{mes}-šu àna kaḫ-ḫir Rv. ¹i-sap-pan ma-a ki-i an-ni-i ²mātu elamtu i[](?) -gam-mar. "Die Worte folge[n-der]massen spricht er [er] ging, fünf, sechsmal sp[rach?] er, Zeichen betreffend die Nirantuwanne,⁵² ich werde gehen, die 'Schlange' in ihrer Mitte abreißen,⁵³ zertrümmern und die Nirantuwanne zerschmettern und Elam werde ich zerschmettern (Trennungskeile). Mit seinen Händen wird er (sie?) zu Boden strecken⁵⁴ und derart wird [er?] Elam vernichten."

Armenisch-assyrische Beziehungen scheint [1240] 83-1-18, 46 zu behandeln, ein Schreiben, das von einem armenischen Könige (vgl. obv. 21 mātu iṣiḥanni) oder vielleicht von Urzana von Muṣaṣir abgesandt wurde; der etwas unverschämte Ton, in dem dieser Brief gehalten, erinnert an den Brief Urzanas [409]. Der Text lautet: (3 verstümmelte Zeilen) ⁴umma ^miluⁿ[abû?] ⁵šar mātu u-ra-ar-di im . . ⁶am-me-ni šarru be-lī ūmi ^mi . . ⁷ik-ki te-ku-ti u ma-li-e lul-l[u] ⁸il-ta-ⁿap-pa-ra abu-ka ki-i pi-i ⁹an-nim-ma ḫar-ši ša ana zakāri lā ṭāb ¹⁰ki-i i-tak-kal-lu-šu ul un-da-i-ir ¹¹u ša pa-ni ar-ki im-na šu-me-lu ¹²e-la-nu u šap-la-nu i-ḥa-ṭu ¹³šar ilāni^{mes} ša-qu-ú mut-tal-lu ¹⁴[gi]m-ri kiš-šat da-ád-me ¹⁵a-na qātē pa-li-ḫi-šu uš-tam-ni ¹⁶aš-šu ^{abnu}uknû ša šarru be-lī iṣ-pu-ra ¹⁷um-ma ^{abnu}uknû liš-šú-ni ¹⁸šarru be-lī uli-di-e ¹⁹ki-i ^{abnu}uknû i-lu-ni ²⁰u ki-i ^{abnu}uknû

⁵² ^{1ṣu}nirantu, eine Waffe, vgl. nir'amtū, HWB, 605a (Landsberger). Es handelt sich vielleicht um ein im Tempel aufgestelltes, waffenartiges Symbol der Gottheit, an dem als Verzierung eine Schlange angebracht ist.

⁵³ šadādu, šaṭāṭu?

⁵⁴ Als Object zu šapānu ist wohl nirantu zu denken. Sonst könnte man auch die I, 2 Formen 5 ff. übersetzen: "Ich gieng, riss ab, zertrümmerte, zerschmettete."

at-ta-ša-a ²¹ mātū i-si-iḫ-ḫa-an-ni rv. ¹ ki-i pa-an
 šarri be-lī-ia maḥ-ru ² e-mu-qu ma-'a-da-a-ti
³ lil-li-ku-nim-ma ^{abnu} uknū liš-šu-ú ⁴ ki-i ša it-
 tal-ku-ni akālê ^{meš} it-ti-šu-nu ul ak-kal ⁶ mē ^{meš}
 it-ti-šu-nu ul a-šat-ti ⁷ i-tu-uš-šu-nu ul it-ti-iq
⁸ ma-ḫar ^{amēlu} mār-šip-ri-ka ul a-te-ib-bi ⁹ ù šul-
 mu šarri be-lī-ia ¹⁰ ul a-ša-'a-al šarru a-na ḫi-ṭu
¹¹ la un-da-na-'a-ar (Trennungsstrich) ¹² a-na pi-i ša...
 Obv. 4ff.: "(3 verstümmelte Zeilen) ⁴ folgendermassen: 'Na[bû?] König von Armenien . . . warum hat der König, mein Herr, Tage(?) [von?] Not, ⁵⁵ Entbehrung ⁵⁶ und voll von . . . gesandt? Als dein Vater auf derartige Weise Verläumdungen, die man nicht gut aussprechen kann, erfuhr, hat er nicht gesandt und der, welcher vorn, rückwärts, rechts, links, oben und unten schaut, der König der Götter, der hohe, erhabene(?), wird die Gesamtheit der Wohnstätten den Händen seines Verehrers überliefern. Wegen des Uknū, dessetwegen der König, mein Herr, geschrieben, folgendermassen: "Uknū möge man bringen," der König, mein Herr, weiss nicht, dass als ich (wegen?) Uknū hinaufgestiegen und als ich Uknū brachte, das Land von mir abfiel. Rv. Wenn es dem Könige, meinem Herrn, genehm ist, mögen zahlreiche Truppen kommen, Uknū holen. Wenn sie kommen, werde ich Speise mit ihnen nicht essen, Wasser mit ihnen nicht trinken; an ihnen werde ich nicht vorübergehen, ⁵⁷ vor deinem Boten werde ich nicht aufstehen und nach dem Wohlbefinden des Königs, meines Herrn, werde ich mich nicht erkundigen, der König rechne es mir nicht zur Sünde an' (Trennungsstrich). Zu Handen von"

Nicht sicher ist, welcher Regierung [1339] K. 8379 zuzuteilen ist, der Absender Mardukapaliddin ist wohl kaum mit dem Gegner Sargons identisch. Obv. 1 ff.: [ardu-ka] ^[m 11u] marduk-
 apal-addina ^{na} a-na di-na-an ² [ša šarri be-li]-ia
 lul-lik um-ma-a a-na šarri be-lī-ia-a-ma ³ šarru
 iš-pu-ra um-ma šābê ^{meš}-ka ki-i taš-pu-ru ⁴ ni-ka-
 si a-na lib-bi āli ki-i u-nak-ki-su ⁵ tar-ta-ḫu igâr

²¹ Zu ikku vgl. Behrens, *Briefe*, 80 f.; Holma, *Körperteile*, 25.

⁵⁶ tekātu für tekītu, welch letzteres in Verbindung mit ik-ki[tum?] in K. 4188, III, 61 (*H WB*, 705a) genannt wird.

⁵⁷ Zur Bedeutung von etêqu, vgl. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne*, V, 11.

bît-ilâni^{meš} un-dil-lu-ú ⁶šâbê^{meš}-ia ʔe-e-ma a-ḥa-meš iṣ-ku-nu um-ma man-ma ⁷man-ma la i-maḥ-ḥaṣ ù MIR man-ma la i-di-ik-ku ⁸ul a-na mu-u[q?] ša ilâni^{meš} ip-la-ḥu-ma ʔe-e-ma ⁹a-ḥa-meš iṣ-ku-nu(-)u i-nam-dam a-na nišê^{meš} . . . ¹⁰ù tar-ta-ḥu a-na igâr bît-ilâni^{meš} . . . ¹¹šu-ú šâbê^{meš}-ia ša iṣ-ḥi-ṭu-ma it-ti bît . . . ¹²iz-zi-zu ina lib-bi u-še-zi-i[z]. ¹³ak-ka-a-a-i ¹⁴qu qaštu a-na igâr bît-il[âni^{meš}] ¹⁴li-iṣ-ba-tu ša ¹⁵za-kir ša šarru iṣ . . . ¹⁵šu-ú a-na šarri il(?) -tap-ra um-ma abi-šu . . . ¹⁶a-na muḥ-ḥi-ia iṣ-ša-bat um-ma ki-i mi . . . ¹⁷qu-ú-a ul ta-aṣ-ba-ta šâbê^{meš} mâtu . . . ¹⁸i(?) nu lu-ú ša a-na šum ša šarri(?) i . . . ¹⁹ . . ʔe-me-ma ù man-ma-a . . . ²⁰ ša bil lam šarri la at [] . . . (Rv. fast ganz verstümmelt.) Obv. 1 ff.: "[Dein Diener] Mardukapaliddin in die Gegenwart(?) [des Königs], meines [Herrn], möge ich kommen. Folgendermassen zu meinem Herrn. [Der König] hat folgendermassen geschrieben: 'Als Du Deine Krieger sandtest und sie in der Stadt Plünderung vornahmen, da füllten sie mit Pfeil(en?) die Wand der Tempel.' Meine Krieger, die mit einander sich verabredet hatten, folgendermassen: "einer soll den anderen nicht treffen und den Turban(?) irgendeines nicht herab-reissen(?)," nicht scheuten sie die Mac[ht]⁵⁸ der Götter und verabredeten sich miteinander⁵⁹ (und) er gab den Leuten . . und ein Pfeil in die Wand der Tempel . . . er, meine Krieger, die den Überfall vollführten, mit . . . standen, stellte er(?) (stellt[en]sie?) darinnen auf. Wie(?), ein Bogen gegen die Wand der Tem[pel], sie mögen(?) fassen.⁶⁰ Was Zakir anbetrifft, über den der König ge[schrieben?], er(?) hat an den König geschrieben folgendermassen: der Vater von . . . gegen mich ergreift er folgendermassen, sowie . . . Du meine . . . nicht ergreifst Leute" Der Text ist mir leider nicht

⁵⁸ ana mu-u[q] (oder q[u]) wohl sicher a-na e-mu-uq. vgl. Ylvisaker, §11a.

⁵⁹ Einen besseren Sinn würde es geben, wenn man fragend übersetzen dürfte: "Meine Krieger (die sich ja sogar verabredet hatten jedermann zu schonen) sollten die Macht der Götter nicht gescheut und sich verabredet haben?"

⁶⁰ qaštu und liṣbatu scheinen zusammenzugehören, da am Schlusse von Z. 13 nur ilâni^{meš} zu ergänzen möglich. Ein Zusammenhang würde sich herstellen lassen, falls man übersetzen dürfte: "Wie sollten sie einen Bogen gegen die Wand der Tempel richten?" Vgl. die Prekativ formen in den Anfragen an Šamaš.

in allen Einzelheiten verständlich, soviel scheint aus den Andeutungen des Briefes hervorzugehen, dass die Soldaten von Mardukapaliddin bei der Plünderung einer Stadt angeblich Tempel entweiht haben und dass Mardukapaliddin seine Leute von diesem Verdachte reinzuwaschen sucht. Mit obv. 14 beginnt ein anderes Thema über einen gewissen Zakir.

Für die politische Geschichte ist auch nicht ohne Interesse eine Petition der Bewohner der Stadt Assur an den König [1238] 83–1–18, 20. Es scheint zunächst eine Beschwerde über einen Stadtvorsteher vorgebracht zu werden, daran schliesst sich eine Klage, welche in beweglichen Worten schildert, wie traurig es mit den Bewohner der Stadt bestellt wäre, falls eine bestimmte Sache (ein Zusammenhang lässt sich nicht herstellen) gewissen Stadtvorstehern anvertraut würde. Obv. 1 ff.: [a-na šarri] be-lî-ni ² [ar]dâni^{meš}-ka ^{amêlu} ḥa-za-na-ti ^{3amêlu} a. ba. âli ^{amêlu} qaqqadâte^{meš} ⁴ šâ ^{âlu} aššur ^{âlu} aššur-a-a ⁵ šiḫir rabû lu šulmu^{mu} ⁶ a-na šarri be-lî-ni ⁷ ilâni^{meš} šâ(?) ê-šar-ra a-na šarri be-lî-ni lik-ru-bu ^{9m} ^{âlu} ištār-nai'dat ^{amêlu} ḥa-za-nu ¹⁰ âlu... iḥ(?) -te-pi ¹¹... ti ak ¹²... ba-tu ba-as ¹³... ina eli šâ pi-ni ¹⁴... ni-ip-tu-ni ¹⁵... ar ši(?) mat(?) ti ni ¹⁶... ú-ma-a ¹⁷... bilat kaspi ¹⁸... ḫurâši ¹⁹... ma-na kaspi ¹⁹... gab-ši-e rv. ¹... at-ḥa ²... ma(?) -na? ³... tap-pa-a[s] ⁴... a-na ^{amêlu} ḥa-za-nu ⁵... ip-qi-du-ni-šu ⁶... ḫu-šu šu-ú ⁷... a(?) -qi(?) -a-a sab(?)? ⁸ mimma? i(?) ni(?)? ⁹ bēl... na-ra-am(?) -ti ¹⁰ a-na šarri be-lî-ni iq-te-bi ¹¹ šum-ma a-na ^{amêlu} ḥa-za-na-ti ¹² i-pa-qi-du-ni-ši ^{13amêlu} ardâni^{meš}-ka mîtu ¹⁴ Il e-gir-a-ti ¹⁵ a-na šarri be-lî-ni (ni)-sap-ra ¹⁶ gab-ru-ú la ni-mur ¹⁷ idê-ni a-na mi-tu-ti ¹⁸ ni-ti-din(?) šarru ^{amêlu} ardâni^{meš}-šu ¹⁹ lu la sak/g-ra-? Obv. 1 ff.: “[An den König], unseren Herrn, deine [Die]ner, die Stadtvorsteher, die Schreiber, die Häupter der Stadt Assur, die Assyrier, klein und gross. Heil dem Könige, unserem Herrn! Die Götter von Ešarra mögen den König, unseren Herrn, segnen. Ištār-nai'dat, der Stadtvorsteher von . . . hat zerschmis-sen. Rv. 10 ff.: . . . zum König, unserem Herrn, hat gesprochen:

Wenn sie den Stadtvorstehern anvertraut wird, so sind deine Diener des Todes. 2 Briefe dem Könige, unserem Herrn, haben (wir)⁶¹ geschickt, eine Antwort haben wir nicht gesehen, unsere Hände haben wir dem Tode überliefert. Der König möge seine Diener ja nicht "

Durch nicht näher erkennbare politische Verhältnisse sind die Klagen des Briefes [1263] Bu. 91-5-9, 172 veranlasst, die von Raub und Plünderung einer Stadt berichten. Der Brief scheint nicht an den König gerichtet zu sein. Obv. 5 ff.: [e]-pa-šú-u-ni be-lì is ⁶ma-a ^mba-sun-nu lil-li-ka ⁷šú-u is-si-me L šábê^{meš} ⁸a-na šub-ti pa-na-tu-uš-šu ⁹i-na ^{mātu}ku-ki-bi us-si-[bil] ¹⁰a-na ^mba-sun-ni a-di ^{amēlu}māri-[šu] ¹¹id-du-ku III ma-na ḥurāši ¹²II bilat kaspi IV ^{imēr}ku-din ¹³. . . . ^{meš}it-ta-šu ¹⁴. . . . si is-si-me ¹⁵. . . sa-ti-di-ib ¹⁶. . . [i]na lib-bi-šu-nu ¹⁷. . . ku-din imêrê^{meš} ¹⁸šábê^{meš} ina libbi-šu-nu ¹⁹. . . us-sa-m[u?] ²⁰. . . . ma-a ištēn^{en} . . ²¹. . . ši ma-a . . ²². . . . tu . . Rv. ¹. . . šab-bit a-di . . ². . a-gan-ni ana ḥu-ud . . ³. . . ma a-bit šarri ⁴. . . TI.LA e . . ⁵. . ¹¹unabû ardi-šu is . . ⁶. . qa-ak-šu šú-u it . . ⁷. . âlu in-taš-'u nišê^{meš}-šu-[nu?] ⁸it-tab-bu iḥ-tal-qu bīt-su ⁹ra-am-mu ina pân ^{amēlu}zak-ki-e ¹⁰gab-bu ^mapla-a GUD.NITA-meš ¹¹it-ta-ḥar nišê^{meš} mâtî gab-bu ¹²ina eli ištêt^{it} šêpi-šu-nu iz-za-zu ¹³a-ta-a qa-la-a-ka da-ba-bu ¹⁴an-ni-ú ina êkalli [ú-ša?]-aš-me ¹⁵a-du at-ta ina eli . . ¹⁶a-na ḥi-iṭ-ṭi la ta . . ¹⁷il-la-ka a-du ur . . ¹⁸. . lib-ba-te-ia i . . Obv. 5 ff.: "sie [t]un, mein Herr . . Basunnu möge kommen. Er hat vernommen, 50 Leute zum Hinterhalt(?) vor ihn ins Land Kukibi hat er brin[gen lassen]. Basunnu und [seinen?] Burschen haben sie getötet.⁶² 3 Minen Gold, 2 Talente Silber, 4 Maulpferde . . haben sie weggebracht, . . . er hat vernommen." Rv. 7 ff.: "die Stadt haben sie geplündert, ihr[e] Leute haben sich aufgemacht, sind geflohen,

⁶¹ ni fehlt im Text.

⁶² Lies imêr ku-din^{meš}?

⁶³ dāku ana vgl. noch [1108], rv. 7 f. und Blsut. 29 (HWB, 212b). Meine Bemerkung, *AJSL*, a.a.O., CIX, 19, danach zu korrigieren.

sein Haus ist aufgelöst, vor allen zakkê nimmt Aplâ Stiere in Empfang, die Leute des Landes insgesamt stehen zusammen. Warum klage ich, diese Rede will ich im Palaste [hören] lassen und du in Betreff . . . zur Sünde (rechne?) es nicht an."

Briefe kultischen Inhalts sind diesmal in den neuen Bänden nur spärlich vertreten. In Betracht kommt vor allem [1360] D.T. 244, ein Text, der anscheinend von Zeremonien am Tigrisufer bei Assur berichtet. Er steht vielleicht mit [433], der einen ähnlichen Inhalt aufweist, im Zusammenhang. [1360], obv. 5 ff.: ki-i šà lib-bi nâri ni-e-ḫi ⁶ûmu XVIII^{kām} ina ^{1u}aššur aq-ṭi-rib ki-i an-ni-ma ^{7u}aššur-a-a e-tap-šu ^{1u}paššurê rak-sa ⁸niqê ^{meš}it-ta-as-ḫu ina nâri ina pân bâbi aššur ^{9u}elippê ^{meš}iš-šab-tu ^{ku}maš-ki-ni ina lib lib-bi ma-ḫi-ši ¹⁰ina eli nâri kām-mu-sa-ku maššartu a-na-šar ¹¹a-di lib ume^{me} šà ú-nam-maš-u-ni ¹²lib-bu šà šarri bēli-ia a-dan-niš lu ṭâb-šu ¹³ûmê ^{meš}šà ^{1u}iršu ina lib-bi-ni lu da-bi-ú Rv. ina pân.-su-ḫu i-su-ri šarru be-[11] . . . Obv. 5 ff.: "Sowie der Fluss sich beruhigt, näherte ich mich am 28^{ten} der Stadt Assur. Folgendermassen taten die Assyrer, die Tische waren zugerüstet, Opfer schlachteten sie, auf dem Flusse gegenüber dem Assurtore ergriffen sie die Schiffe—sind darauf⁶⁴—auf dem Flusse weile ich, die Wache halte ich, am Tage, da ich aufbrechen werde, möge das Herz des Königs, meines Herrn, fröhlich sein. Am Tage, da das Bett in mitten—⁶⁵eintaucht(?), vor—, wenn der König [mein H]err" Der Absender hat also anscheinend, sowie günstiger Wasserstand eintrat, die Fahrt auf dem Tigris unternommen, am 28^{ten} ist er in Assur gelandet und festlich empfangen worden, des Weiteren ist dann im unklaren Zusammenhange von dem Ruhelager (einer Gottheit) die Rede, vielleicht handelt es sich um einen ähnlichen Vorgang wie in [433], rv. 13 ff., wo das Ruhelager auf einem Schiffe über Nacht verbleibt und Leute dabei wachen (vgl. Beamtentum, 87).

⁶⁴ Nach dem Determinativ ku(ṣubātu) zu urteilen, muss maškinu etwas Stoff- oder Gewandartiges bedeuten; maḫāṣu in Verbindung mit ṣubātu bedeutet sonst weben (Landsberger, *WZKM.* 26, 130), hier würde man allerdings eher vermuten, dass von der Errichtung von Zelten oder dgl. auf den Schiffen die Rede ist.

⁶⁵ So zu verbinden? Oder ni-lu, zu dem angeblichen nilu Flut (*MA.* 678a?) oder ṣal-lu von ṣalālu?

Zwei Texte beschäftigen sich wahrscheinlich mit Orakelaussprüchen von Gottheiten, es sind dies [1369] 83-1-18, 249 und [1249] 83-1-18, 361. Der erstere Text, der keinerlei Einleitungsformel aufweist noch den Namen des Absenders nennt, gibt anscheinend den Wortlaut eines Orakels oder einer Rede der Gottheit an den König wieder. Obv. 1 ff.: ina lib ûme^{me} šà niqê^{meš} pa-ni-a-ti ina pân ê-šâr-ra ²ti-pu-šu-ni ³sa¹ha-am-ma-a ^{amêlu}kal-la-pu ši-bir-ti a-na ka-ši(?) ⁴a-na šul-mi-e-ka as-sap-ra ⁵an-nu-rik ^{11u}gú-gal nam-ru-ti ⁶ina pân bâbi-ka i-za-zu ^{11u}be-el matâtê ⁷e-si-šu-nu i-za-az ⁸kal-la-pu ši-bir-ti ina eli pu-ut âr-ni ⁹i-tal-ka di-na-aš-šu Rv. ¹ina ê-šâr-ra li-lik ²la-ša-ba-ta ^{11u}gú-gal nam-ru-ti ³a-na ma-ta-a-ti la-aš-pur ⁴âr-hiš ^{1su}mu-gir-ra-ka a-na ê-šâr-ra ⁵lil-li-ka ^{1su}haṭṭu šarru-ú-ti šà kitti la-di-na-ka ⁷ši-bir-ti šà aš-pur-ak-ka-ni ⁸šà ki-it-ti ši-i. Obv. 1 ff.: "Am Tage, da Du die früheren Opfer vor Ešarra vollzogst, habe ich die Hammâ,⁶⁶ den kallapu šibirti,⁶⁷ zu Dir zur Begrüssung gesandt. Jetzt stehen die glänzenden Stiergottheiten vor Deinem Tore, Bêl matâte steht an ihrer Seite. Der kallapu šibirti ist wegen der—der Sünde gegangen, lass ihn nach Ešarra kommen. Ich will ergreifen(?),⁶⁸ die glänzenden Stiergottheiten will ich in die Länder entsenden. Eilends möge Dein Wagen⁶⁹ nach Ešarra kommen. Den Königsstab der Gerechtigkeit will ich Dir geben. Die Botschaft(?),⁷⁰ die ich Dir gesandt habe, ist eine wahrhaftige."

Im zweiten Texte wird der Wortlaut eines Orakels der Ninlil mitgeteilt, Absender ist Aššurḫamatia. Rv. 5 ff.: a-na šarri bêli-ia ⁶ardu-ka ^m ^{11u}aššur-ḫa-mat-ia ⁷aššur ^{11u}ištar a-na šarri ⁸lik-ru-ub-bu. Obv. 1 ff.: [ša

⁶⁶sa¹ha-am-ma-a, vgl. Tallquist, *Neubabyl. Namenbuch*, 66b.

⁶⁷kallapu šibirti begegnet noch an zwei Briefstellen ([227] K. 560, rv. 1, und [322] K. 663, rv. 2. Zu kallapu siehe zuletzt Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 66¹.

⁶⁸laṣabata für laṣbata mit eingeschobenem Hilfsvokal, Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, § 8.

⁶⁹išumugirru, wohl "Wagen," so schon Behrens, *Briefe*, 77¹ mit Rücksicht auf [80] K. 520, rv. 10, [385] Rm. 2, 6, rv. 14, [620] K. 1201, obv. 8, vgl. auch ^{amêlu}nangar ^{1su}mu-gir-ri ADD 50, 3 (Ungnad, *Assyr. Rechtsurkunden*, 201 m. = Rad wohl der "Wagenbauer."

⁷⁰Oder dasselbe šibirti wie in kallapu šibirti(?). Zu šibirtu vgl. Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 57¹⁴.

šarru] bēli iš-pu(?) -ra-[an-ni] ²ištu ^{11u}nin-lil
a-si-me ^{3m}aššur-bân-aplu šar ^{mātu}aššur ⁴šà(?)
ud ra-bi-i? . . . ⁵ul⁷¹ ta-pal-laḥ ⁶.[e]li(?) bēl ar⁷²
te an ki ^{7[m]}aššur-bân-aplu ina mâtī illaku ⁸šu-ú
a-di mâtī-šú ⁹ar te an ki ¹⁰ina eli mu-šal-lim-té
¹¹ištu âli ^{ki}at-tu-ši ¹²i[št]u . kur gim lu ¹³. . . .
ni-gu Rv. . . . bel ad . . . ²ú-sa-ri-ir-ri ^m ^{11u}nabû-
šar-ušur ^{amēlu}ú(?) -ra-si ša mu-gi-ia⁷³ a-sa-par.

[1197] ist ein kurzer Bericht über ein Adadfest, mit ähnlichen Ausdrücken, wie die von Behrens bearbeiteten Texte [134], [667], [858]. Obv. 2 ff.: . . . [i]a ištu . . . ³šà ^{11u}kak-[zu?] ⁴šak . . . ⁵arbu aiâru ūmu VI^{kām} ⁶11u adad i-te-bi ⁷ina lib a-ki-te u-ša-ab(?) ⁹ni-ḥu ^{amēlu}kalû Rv. ¹[ša] šarru be-lī ². . . [š]it ^{11u}adad ³. . . ina bīti-šú ⁴. . . bu. Obv. 5 ff.: "Am 6^{ten} Ajar erhebt sich Adad und lässt sich im Festhaus nieder, rastet. Der Kalûpriester, welchen der König, mein Herr, . . . Adad . . . in seinem Hause."

Mit kultischen Dingen beschäftigt sich auch [1277] K. 884, ein recht schwieriger Text, der unter anderen vom Gotte Nabû handelt. Obv. 1 ff.: a-bu-tu-u an-ni-tú šà šarru be-li iḥ-su-an-ni ²lu na-'i-id ³11u pīl-ur-tú ki-zi-ir-tú ša ^{11u}nabû ši-i ⁴šarru be-lī ú-da ina muḥ-ḥi ^{11u}pīl-lu-(ur)-⁷⁴tú si-im-tú ša mâr šarri ⁵an-nu-rik ina pi-i si-ma-ti-šu šarru be-li e-ta-paš ⁶. [n]i(?) bīt ša ^{11u}iš-nu-na-ak ki-zer-tú ša-kin ⁷[ina] muḥ-ḥi i-gab-bi-u ma-a ^{11u}nabû šú-u (Trennungsstrich) ⁸. . . . [11u] ZU^{meš} eš-šú-ti šà i-ša-ṭar-u-ni ⁹. . . an-ni-i ina muḥ-ḥi ni-it-t[a] . . . ¹⁰. . . da-ba-bu šà a-na an-ni-i dam-qu-u-n[i] ¹¹. . . da-an qaq-qu-ru ma-'a-a[d] ¹². . . ma-'a-ad a-ki eš-rat šumâte^{mēš} ¹³. . . si-ik še-bi-la la-mur ¹⁴. . . as-sa-nam-me šà šarru be-li išpur-an-ni. ¹⁵[šarru] be-li iš-pur-an-ni ma-a is-su-ri ištu. Rv. ¹. . . a

⁷¹ul tapallaḥ vgl. lā tapallaḥ IV R 61, Kol. I, 6; Kol. II, 16 usw.

⁷²temen šamē irṣitim?

⁷³mugu wohl zu emûqu, vgl. oben zu rab-mûgi, vielleicht "meinen eigenen Urasu."

⁷⁴ur vom Schreiber ausgelassen.

^{1u} pil-ur-tú iš-ku[n] ² . . a-bi-ti-e li-'i-i-ti ³ . ki-i
 šà abkalli gam-mar-u-ni ⁴ [a]-bu-tu-u ina muḥ-
 ḫi ta-qa-tab-bi ⁵ a-bu-tu-u šà ki-i pi-i ši-ik-ni-
 ša ⁶ a-na ni-ra-ki-ša ina si-ma-ti-ša qa-bi-at-u-
 ni ⁷ a-ḫi-iš⁷⁶ ta-pal-u-ni tap-ki-ir-ta-ša i-ba-aš-ši
⁸ a-na pu-luḫ-ti la šak-na-ta ⁹ la-an-nu-u šú-u
 li-'i-u-tú ša dup-šar-ru-ti ¹⁰ šà ki-i an-ni-i uš-
 ta-pal-u-ni ¹¹ da-ba-bu-u lu-u na-'i-id. Obv. 1 ff.:
 "Diese Sache, deren der König, mein Herr, gedacht, ist sehr
 schön. pilurtu kizirtu gehört Nabû. Der König, mein Herr,
 weiss, auf der pilurtu ist ein Bild(?) des Kronprinzen. Jetzt
 hat der König, mein Herr, entsprechend seiner Würde(?) gehandelt.
 Haus der Stadt Išnunak befindet sich eine kizirtu, man sagt
 darüber, Nabû ist es." Obv. 1 iḫsuanni, falls keine Auslas-
 sung vorliegt, als Nebenform zu iḫsusanni zu fassen, vgl.
 Formen wie adabuni, idubaššu von dabābu usw. Das
 Verständnis des ganzen Abschnittes hängt von der Erklärung von
 pilúrtu⁷⁶ und kizirtu ab. pilurtu begegnet in den Briefen
 mehrmals mit den Determinativen iṣu und abnu. Eine Holz-
 art bezeichnet es [408] Rm. 2, 1, rv. 5 ff.: ^{1u} ar-zu-ḫi-na
 ina lib ^{1u} pi-lu-ur-te ka-ri-ru-u-ni; [628] K. 1247,
 rv. 7 f.: us-si-rib-šu-nu ^{1u} pi-lu-rat iš-šak-nu-šu-
 nu. Siegel bedeutet pilurtu [434], rv. 13 f.: ina lib abnu
^{1u} pi-lu-ur-te li-ik-nu-ku. Welches pilurtu in CT,
 XXVII, pl. 27, 10–15 vorliegt, ist nicht klar: izbu II-ma kīma
 pi-il-lu-ur-ti it-gu-ru-ma "Wenn das Neugeborene dop-
 pelt und sie (die beiden Teile) wie eine p. verbunden sind." Da
 anscheinend ein Bild auf der pilurtu angebracht ist, so ist ^{1u} p.
 vielleicht ein Siegelstein mit eingraviertem Bildnis, allerdings
 würde man in diesem Falle abnu als Determinativ erwarten.
 Ist z.B. zu verbinden: pilurtu ist eine kizirtu des Nabû,
 oder die p.k. gehört Nabû? Ist kizirtu vom Stamme kazāru
 "zusammenfügen" abzuleiten? Zu vgl. ist jedenfalls kizirtu
 in IV R² 61, 66c ff.: ina ki-zir-ti-[ka] ina šamê rabûti
 ukalka. Sonderbar ist auch die Aussage kizirtu ^{11u} nabû

⁷⁶ Vielleicht hat der Schreiber etwas ausgelassen, vgl. uš-tap-pal, rv. 10.

⁷⁷ Vgl. Meissner, ZA. XVII. 249 f., 271; Bezold, ZA. XXIV. 353¹.

šu-ú; vielleicht ist gemeint: gehört Nabû. Rv. 4 ta-qa-tab-bi für taqtabbi, vgl. Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, § 8.

Kult und Tempelverwaltung betrifft [1202] 81-2-4, 66. Der Absender führt Klage über Unregelmässigkeiten, die sich die im Dienste eines Nabûtempels stehenden Hirten haben zu Schulden kommen lassen. Die Hirten standen im Einverständnis mit den Aufsicht führenden Beamten und unterliessen die Rechnungslegung sowie die Ablieferung des Viehs an den Tempel. Obv. 15 ff.:
 ištu ^{amēlu} šakin-têmi u ^{amēlu} . . . bar-sip^{ki} i-sap-ra
¹⁶ ma-a nikâsu ša GUD.NITA^[mes] [u] immerê^{mes} šà
¹⁷ ilu nabû ip-ša ù šu'ê^{mes} gi-ni-e ki-i ša[la]-bi-ri
¹⁸ ina bît mârê^{mes} bar-sip^{ki} p[i?]-qi-da šu'ê^{mes}
¹⁹ kab-ru-tu a-na ilu nabû . . . ri-bu ^{amēlu} re'ê^{mes}
²⁰ šul-ma-nu a-na ^{amēlu} šakin-têmi . . . ud(?) . id-dan-nu
²¹ a-du-na-kan-ni nikâsu [šà] GUD.NITA^{mes} ù
 immerê^{mes} ²² la ip-šu ù šu'ê^{mes} gi-ni-e u-pa-qi-du
²³ ina ^{arbu} nisanni GUD.SAG la ip-te niqê^{mes} ša šarri
²⁴ la e-pu-šu ŠI II (ênê besser pân^{76a}) ša ^{amēlu} re'ê^{mes}
²⁵ GUD.NITA^{mes} i-dag-gu-lu GUD.SAG si-lu-tú
 šà ka-ri-bi ²⁶ ina pa-an bâbi u-sa-ḥa-ru-u-ni ina
 muḥ-ḥi ²⁷ GIŠ.RÛ (Br. 909) ša ilu nabû u-si-li-i-u
 Rv., ¹ ina lib-bi alpi is-sip-lu ša ka-ri-bi ² šà pa-an
³ ilu na-na-a e-piš-u-ni a-si-me ma-a kalîtu
 imitti-šu la-aš-šu mârê^{mes} bar-sip^{ki} gab-bu ⁴ ut-ta-ta-zu-mu
 ma-a alpê^{mes} immerê^{mes} ša ilu nabû
⁵ pa-an mâti kat-mu a-ta-a ^{amēlu} re'ê^{mes} u-sip-ḥu-zu
⁶ a-si-me ma-a ištu lib-bi ^{amēlu} rabâni^{mes} i-ba-ši
⁷ šà ^{amēlu} re'ê^{mes} is-[si]-e-šu i-zi-zu-u-ni ⁸ a-na iṣ . . ki
 šà . . ki iq-ṭi-bi ma-a . . . Obv. 15 ff.: "Von Seiten des Aufsehers und des . . von Barsip hat man geschickt: 'Rechnung über die Stier[e] [und] Schafe des Nabû legt und die als ständige Opfergabe festgesetzten Widder des Nabû wie [e]hedem⁷⁷ must[ert]'; fette Widder dem Nabû . . . die Hirten ein Bestechungsgeschenk dem Aufseher . . . geben sie. Bis

^{76a} Zu pân dagālu, vgl. Behrens, *Briefe*, 362; mein Beamtentum, 301.

⁷⁷ Die Ausgabe ergänzt u[-pa]-qi-da, nach ipša ist aber wohl ein imp. I. oder I. herzustellen.

jetzt haben sie Rechnung [über] die Stiere und Lämmer nicht gelegt und die als ständige Opfergabe festgesetzten Widder mustern(?) sie. Im Monat Nisan hat man einen Primastier(?) nicht geöffnet, die Opfer des Königs nicht vollzogen, auf die Hirten der Stiere wartet man. Einen Primastier(?), die Darbringung⁷⁸(?) des Betenden, führen sie vor dem Tore herum, vor dem—Nabûs bringen sie dar. In Betreff des Rindes, das—⁷⁹ des Betenden, welches vor Nanâ vollzogen wird, habe ich vernommen, seine rechte Niere fehlt. Die Barsipäer insgesamt beklagen sich: Die Rinder, Schafe, von Nabû vor dem Lande—warum haben die Hirten sie zurückgehalten.⁸⁰ Ich habe vernommen, unter den Grossen gibt es einige, m[i]t welchen die Hirten in Einverständnis standen, zu . . . sprach er.”

Die Einfügung einer neuen Türe im Tempel Esagil für die Himmelskönigin meldet [1340] K. 8412. Obv. 9 ff.: [ú-m]a(?) -a šarru akâlu ba-ni kurunnu ¹⁰ . . . a-bi daltu ilti ša-me-i-ti zaq-pa(?)⁸¹-at ¹¹ . . . 'a-a-ni qa-tu-ú u ^{amêlu} bâbilai^{meš} ¹² ma-la ūmu IV^{kam} a-na e-sag-gil ¹³ . ?-lu-nim-ma daltu i-mu-ru ina pa-an ¹⁴ ^{lu} bēl u ¹⁵ ^{lu} ištār-ia šarru be-li-a ¹⁶ [i]k-ta-rab-bu ū ma-'a-diš ¹⁷ [ʔḫa]-mu-ú šarru be-li-a u-ú ḫa-me ¹⁸ . . . e-sag-gil u bābilu^{kī} ¹⁹ [libʔ] ilāni(?)^{meš} -ka ma-'a-diš da-a-bi ²⁰ . . . ia-a-ši lib-bi la da-a-bi ²¹ . . . [a]-na-ku ū kurrumatu aka-la-a-ti ²² . . . e-ma šarru be-li-a i-gab-bi ²³ . . . u nu ik-lu ^{amêlu} ša pi . . . ^{meš} . . . la ku . . . Obv. 9 ff.: “[jet]zt(?) der König, gute Speise, feinen Rauschtrank,⁸² die Tür der Himmelsgöttin ist aufgestellt . . . sind zu Ende und die Babylonier, soviel ihrer am 4^{ten} nach Esagil—⁸³ sahen das Tor, vor Bel und ‘meiner Göttin’ [sel]gneten sie den König, meinen Herrn, und waren ausserordentlich [gu]ten [Mu]tes, der König, mein Herr, möge guten Mutes sein, . . . Esagil und Babylon . . . deine Götter(?) sind gar sehr zufried[en?], ich, ich bin nicht zufrieden

⁷⁸ silûtu; die Bildung vielleicht durch usilûni beeinflusst [Landsberger].

⁷⁹ Text in Ordnung? ⁸⁰ paḫāzu, vgl. MA, 795a. ⁸¹ Die Ausgabe hat is.

⁸² Vgl. Hrozný, “Getreide im alten Babylonien” (Sitz. Ber. W. Akad., 173i), 143.

⁸³ Man erwartet eine Form von elû, etwa [e-t]e-lu-nim-ma, [e]-lu-nim-ma; die Spur vor lu widerspricht einer solchen Ergänzung.

. . [i]ch Nahrung, Speise . . . sobald der König, mein Herr, sprechen wird”

Erwähnenswert ist [1247] 83-1-18, 125, ein Text, der den Gott LUM.LUM nennt. Dieser Gott begegnet nur noch an einer zweiten Briefstelle [438], obv. 12, wo von Gold für die Brust des Gottes die Rede ist. Im vorliegenden Texte wird anscheinend von einer Beraubung(?) seines Tempelschatzes gesprochen. Obv. 3 ff.: ^{amēlu} šà-t[am?] ^{4amēlu} mâr-šipri-šu a-na pa-ni šar(?) ^{5bâbili} i-šap-par ^{6i-na} arbu nisanni ^{7amēlu} mâr-šipri ša šar bâbili^{k1} ^{8a-na} pa-ni-šu it-tal-ka ^{9ul} ina pa-ni-šu in-da-ḫa-aš ^{1011u} LUM.LUM il-tal-la ^{11um-ma} šul-lum a-na šarri ^{12be-lî} ia bît ^{abnu} kunukki ^{13ša} ^{11u} LUM.LUM ša ina lib-bi ^{14un-qu} ša ^{m11u} aššur-aḫ-iddina ^{15ana} kit(?) -ru-šu⁸⁴ i-ka-gal ^{16ip-te-ti} I biltu ^{17XX} ma-na ḫurâši I bilat ^{18sa-a-du} ina qâtê ^{amēlu} mâr-ši[pri] ^{19a-na} šar bâbili^{k1} Rv. ^{1ul-te-bi-la} ūmu ^{mu} -us-s[u] ^{2m} nabû-uštabši⁸¹ ba-ru-ú ^{3ṭe-e-mu} ša êkalli ^{4i-ḫi-ri-is-su} ^{5a-na} ^m kudurru i-šap-par ^{6II} šâbê^{me8} -šu XXX šâbê^{me8} ina qâtê-šu-nu iṣ-ša-bat ^{8a-na} pa-ni šar bâbili^{k1} ^{9it-ṭal-ka} šarru ^{10lu} . . ma-’a šâbê^{me8} ša dib-bi ¹¹ . . . it-ti-ši VMU-e ¹² ni. Obv. 3 ff.: “Der Šat[ammu] seinen Boten zu dem König von Babylon schickt er, im Nisan ist der Bote des Königs von Babylon zu ihm gegangen, traf ihn aber nicht an. Den Gott LUM.LUM befragte(?)⁸⁵ er folgendermassen: dem König, meinem Herrn, geht es gut.⁸⁶ Das Haus des Siegels des Gottes LUM.LUM, welches inmitten eines Ringes(?), welchen Asarhaddon zu seinem Bündnis(?)—hat er geöffnet. 1 Talent, 20 Minen Gold, 1 Talent sâdu hat er durch einen Bot[en] dem König von Babylon bringen lassen. Alltäg[lic]h Nabû-uštabši, der Barû, Bericht vom Hofe bringt er in Erfahrung, zu Kudurru schickt er (ihn).” Anscheinend ist zur Unterstützung des babylonischen Königs das Schatzhaus des Lumlumtempels eröffnet und Metall dem Könige übersandt worden. Die Zeit des Textes ist wahrscheinlich die

⁸⁴ Text in Ordnung?

⁸⁵ Oder von ša lû senden(?) abzuleiten?

⁸⁶ Man erwartet lû šulum.

von Šamašsumukin und er ist wohl mit dem Könige von Babylon gemeint.

Zu den wenigen in den beiden letzten Bänden erhaltenen Befehlsschreiben des Königs gehört auch [1258] Bu. 91-5-9, 71. Der Text schliesst sich im Wortlaut eng an [401] an und betrifft eine Verfügung des Königs wegen der Abhaltung von Festen in einem günstigen Monat. Das Schreiben ist an einen gewissen Nabû-iddina und an die Priesterklasse der eribûti-bîti von Kuta gerichtet, an dieselbe Priesterklasse, usw. von Dêr, richtet sich auch [401]. Der zuerst genannte Nabû-iddina ist vielleicht der Oberpriester der betreffenden Stadt (bezw. ihres Haupttempels). Obv. 1 ff.: a-mat šarri ²a-na ^mlu nabû-iddina ^{na} ³û a-na ^{amêlu}eribûte⁸⁷ ^{mêš}-bîti ⁴ša kuta^{ki} ⁵šulmu^{mu} ia-a-ši ⁶lib-ba-ku-nu ⁷lu ta-ab-ku-nu-šu ⁸arbu addaru di-ri ⁹[l]u-me-dak-kun-û-šu ¹⁰[isittu]^{tu 88} parše⁸⁹ m[^{es}] [ša ilê] ^{mêš}-e-[a] ¹¹[ina arḫi] ¹²[šal-me ip-ša-'a].⁸⁸ Obv. 1 ff.: "Befehl des Königs an Nabû-iddina und eribûti bîti von Kuta, mir geht es gut, möge euer Herz fröhlich sein. Der Addar ist diri. Nun trage(?) ich euch auf(?). [Das Fes]t(?) der Satzun[gen?] [mei]ner [Götter] [veranstaltet in einem günstigen Monat]." Da der gleichlautende Brief 401 ausführlich von Behrens bearbeitet worden ist, sei auf seinen Kommentar zu diesem text (*Briefe*, 68 ff.) verwiesen. Die entscheidende Stelle für das Verständnis ist obv. 8. Wie schon Behrens hervorgehoben, muss man diri zu einem Stamme darâru stellen, es wird sowohl vom Jahre ([74], rv. 12) wie vom Monat ausgesagt, u. zw. vom Addar (2 mal) und vom Ulul ([338], obv. 9 d a-a-ri). Doch lässt sich mit dem Stamm darâru "stark sein" nicht viel anfangen, ein starker Monat könnte zur Not ein voller sein, aber es wäre nicht recht einzusehen, warum in einem solchen Monat keine Zeremonien abgehalten werden sollten (wie [338] rv. zeigt). Möglich, daher dass arḫ u diri, wie Landsberger vermutet, den Schaltmonat bezeichnet und dass von dirig > diri darâru erst abgeleitet ist. Bewährt sich diese

⁸⁷ Zur Lesung siehe Meissner, *DLZ*, 1910, Sp. 1755; vgl. Godbey, *AJSL*, XXII, 45 ff.; Frank, *Studien zur babyl. Religion*, I, 10 f., 62.

⁸⁸ Ergänzt nach [401] obv.

⁸⁹ P. A. N-m[^{es}] zeigt, dass wie schon immer vermutet worden ist, in [401] obv. 10 MAŠ.AN Schreibfehler ist, vgl. zuletzt Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 79.



Anschauung, so würde daraus hervorgehen, dass in einem Schaltmonat keinerlei religiöse Zeremonien vorgenommen wurden, da er nicht als *arḫu šalmu* galt ([401], rv. 12) und dass etwa in Unkenntnis des Schaltmonats begonnene religiöse Feste, sobald der kgl. Befehl die Schaltung betreffend herabgelangte, abgebrochen wurden ([338], rv. 6 ff.).

Nur ein Paar Tafeln astronom. astrolog. Inhalts sind in den beiden letzten Bänden enthalten. [1237] 83-1-18, 1 ist schon von Waterman, *AJSL*, XXIX, 3 f., veröffentlicht, doch weist Harpers Text gegenüber W. zwei Verbesserungen auf, obv. 4 *miqtu* und obv. 5 *mi-ša-ḫu* (!), von deren Richtigkeit ich mich durch Kollation überzeugte. Die Lesung *miqtu* geht auch aus Thompson, *Rep.*, 202, obv. 5 ff. hervor, die ganze Stelle [1237], obv. 3 f., ist nämlich damit gleichlautend. Es ist daher zu lesen (gegen *AJSL*, a.a.O., 20): *enuma kakkabu ki^{1u} di-pa-ri ištu šit^{1u} šamši isrur-ma ina erēb^{1u} šamši irbi nakru ina miqti-ša imaqtu^u*. Z. 7 ist zu lesen *ūmu sa-pi-iḫ*. [1214] 81-2-4, 131 enthält im Rv. eine Anzahl astrologischer Deutungen, im Obv. ist von Kanal- und Bauarbeiten die Rede. Der Brief dürfte vielleicht an Sanherib gerichtet sein, falls in obv. 4 *abi-šu šà [šarri bēli-ia]* ergänzt werden darf. Der Text, der anbei in Umschrift folgt, ist an vielen Stellen verstümmelt und nicht in allen Einzelheiten klar. Obv. 2 ff.: *[is-s]ap-rama-a[]*
²*ina eli nār bar-sip^{ki}* ⁴*ina lib ūmē^{me} ša^m šarru-kēn abi-šu šà š[arri bēli-ia?] ⁵ki-i nār bar-sip^{ki} sa-qu-u ruppūšu(?)³⁰* ⁶*ina muḫ-ḫi ik-tab-su la iṣ-li-im is(?)* ⁷? *šarri bēli-iā nāru adanniš ir-ti-pi[š]* ⁸*ú. ? bu ù la i-šal-lim gi-iš* ⁹*šà. ū^{me} ki-i šà ša-bit-u-ni lu-u ša-bit¹⁰ ki-[i] šarru be-l-lit-tal-ka tam-li-ti ū-ma-al-lu-u¹¹ u-[š]à(?) -[a]b-bu šarru be-l-lina lib^{1u} nar-kabti-šu ina muḫ-ḫi e-ti-iq¹² šat-t[u?] an-ni-tú mē^{me} id-da-an-nu ina eli igāri¹³ é-[z]i-da e-te-li-i-u^{amēlu} še-ir-ki šà^{1u} šēdu(?)¹⁴ i-š[u?] -aš-ši sum-ma pa-an šarri bēli-iā ma-ḫir e-bir-tú¹⁵ liš-[ḫ]u-uṭ-ṭu ka-a-ri é-zi-da li-ir-ši-pu¹⁶ mu-sar-*

³⁰ O. a. der Text hat nur DAGAL.

ru-u ša šarri bēli-iā ina lib-bi la-aš-kun mē^{meš}
 li-bu-gu ina eli igāri ša bīt^{11u} nergal¹⁸ ša kuta^{ki}
 ša a-na ša[rri] [beli-ia aš-pur]-an-ni¹⁹ nu-uk a-
 n[a?] ru²⁰ i Rv. ¹ma-ḥir
 bīt ²ni-ir-šip šumu ša [šarri?]
³liš-ši-ki-in ki-i ša š[ar]u [b]ēli ⁴ma-ḥir-u-
 ni li-e-pu-šu^m nergal-šar-ilāni(?)^{meš(?)} ⁵amēlu
 mutir-pu-tú itti^{amēlu} šani-i ša^{amēlu} la-ḥi-ra-a-a
⁶it-tal-ka a-bit šarri iz-zak-ru^{amēlu} ḫi-e-pa-a-ni
⁷ša bīt-ilāni^{meš} ša sip-par^{ki} kuta^{ki} ḥar-sag-kala-
 ma^{ma ki} ⁸dil-bat^{ki} up-ta-at-ti-i-u ša-ni-i-u-te
⁹ip-taq-du šarru be-lī lu-u ú-di ina^{arbu} du'úzi
 mūšu¹⁰ ša ūmi X^{kam} kakkabu aqrabu a-na^{11u} sin te-
 ḫi¹¹ a-ki an-ni-i pi-šir-šu enuma sin ina ŠI.LAL-
 šu^{kakkabu} aqrabu¹² ina qarni imitti-šu izziz¹² [ina
 šatti (MU)] [ši]āti ([B]I) āribu itebbi-ma¹³ šē'u
 ebūri ikkal ša k[ur?] [šar] elamti^{ki} ina šatti šiāti
 idakku-šu¹⁴ palū-šu i-gam-mar nakr[u] itebbi-ma lib-
 bi māti-šu i-maš-ša-'a¹⁵ a-na šar akkadi^{ki}?-ša-
 qu palū-šu i-ri-ik¹⁶ ^{amēlu} nakru ša i-te . na-aš-šu
 mi-ḫit-ti^{amēlu} nakri-šu¹⁷ iš-ša-kan . . . ūmu X^{kam}
 kakkabu dil-bat ina libbi^{kakkabu} UR.GAB¹⁸ it-ta-
 [ši-iz] šar akkadi^{ki} a-šar ne-[iḫ-ti?]¹⁹ . .
 [k]an ina^{mātu} akkadi^{ki} ta²⁰ . . . [i]na
 mātu^{amēlu} akkadi^{ki} te²¹ . . . tu
 Obv. 2 ff.: "[er schi]ckte ³ betreffend den Barsip-
 kanal ⁴ in den Tagen Sargons des Vaters des
 K[önigs, meines Herrn?] als der Barsipkanal eng war, zu erweitern
 ⁶ darauf traten sie, nicht wurde es fertig ⁷ . . des Königs,
 meines Herrn, war der Kanal sehr breit. Obv. 10 ff.: wi[e] der
 König, mein Herr, kommt, werden sie eine Terasse aufwerfen und—⁹¹
 der König, mein Herr, wird mit seinem Wagen darüberfahren.
 Heu[er] sind die Wasser sehr mächtig, bis zur Mauer von E[z]ida
 sind sie gestiegen, der Aufseher(?) beim Šedu ist in A[ufr]egung(?).
 Falls es dem König, meinem Herrn genehm ist, möge man jenseits

⁹¹ "Darf man etwa an שָׁרַף "niedertreten" (Zimmern, GGA, 1898, 825; Streck, *Babyloniaca*, II, 191) denken, also etwa feststampfen, oder wie sonst zu fassen?

ni[eder]reissen, den Uferdamm von Ezida ausbessern, eine Inschrift des Königs, meines Herrn, will ich inmitten anbringen, die Wasser mögen sich(?) wegwenden(?). Wegen der Mauer des Nergaltempels von Kuta, vorüber ich dem Kö[nig, meinem Herrn] [geschrie]ben folgendermassen ² wollen wir zusammen fügen, der Name [des Königs?] ? möge angebracht werden, wie der König es gefällig ist, möge man tun. Nergal-šar-ilāni(?), der Kämmerer, kam mit dem "Zweiten" der Lachiräer, ein königliches Befehlsschreiben haben sie verlesen, die Aufseher der Tempel von Sippar, Kuta, Harsagkalama, Dilbat hat man abgesetzt(?), andere bestellt. Der König, mein Herr, weiss, im Du'ûz, in der Nacht des 10^{ten} nähert sich der Skorpion dem Monde, folgendermassen ist die Deutung:²² Wenn der Mond bei seinem Erscheinen der Skorpion in seinem rechten Horn steht so werden [in die]sem [Jahre] Heuschreckenschwärme sich erheben, das Erntegetreide aufzehren, ? . ²³ der König von Elam in diesem Jahre wird man ihn töten,²⁴ seine Regierung wird zu einem Ende kommen, ein Fein[d] wird sich erheben, in seinem Lande plündern, für den König von Akkad—seine Regierung wird lang sein, der Feind, der ihn—der Fall seines Feindes wird stattfinden . . . am 10^{ten} wird Venus inmitten von U.R.G.AB ste[hen], der König von Akkad an einer r[uhigen] Stätte . . . in Akkad"

Astrologische Deutungen enthält im Obv. auch [1344] K. 10120. Obv. 4 wird gemeldet, dass am 14^{ten} Šabat Sonne und Mond miteinander gesehen wurden. Z. 5 ff. folgt nach einem Trennungsstrich die Deutung, zitiert aus UD AN ^den-lil (Virolleaud, *Sin*, IV, 15 f.; Sec. Suppl., XVIII, 14 f.; vgl. Thompson, *Reports*, 124–155, mit denen der Text zusammengehört). Obv. 5 ff.: {en u ma ū mu XIV ^{ka}m sin u ša ma š} itti a-ḫa-meš [innamrû pû ikân] ⁶[lib-bi mâti iṭāb^a] ^bilāni me mâtu a[kkadi^{ki}] ⁷[ana ^{sa}ldamiqti i-ḫas-sa-s]u ḫu-ud libbi niše^{me[s]} išakan(!) ^{an(1)} ⁸[bu-lim] mâtu akkadi^{ki} par-ga-niš

²² Zitat aus UD AN ^den-lil (Virolleaud, *Sin*, XVIII, 10; Sec. Suppl., IX, 27), die dortige Fassung ist aber weniger ausführlich wie hier.

²³ Die Parallelstellen haben bloss ū statt des von unserem Text Gebotenen.

²⁴ Von hier ab fehlt das Weitere an den zitierten Stellen

⁹[ina šêri i]-rab-bi-šu.⁹⁵ Obv. 5 ff.: “[Wenn am 14^{ten} Sin und Šamaš] miteinander [gesehen werden, so wird Treue herrschen] [dem Lande wird es gut] [gehen] die Götter von A[kkad] [werden auf Gutes sinn]en, die Leute werden froh sein, das Vieh von Akkad wird in Ruhe [auf dem Felde] lagern.” Der Brief hat noch zwei Zeilen Deutungen mehr, wie der Trennungsstrich nach Z. 11 zeigt, die sich aber mangels einer Parallelstelle vorläufig nicht ergänzen lassen, allerdings könnte in Z. 10 ein neues Omen (etwa sin šamaš šitqulu) beginnen, so dass vielleicht [at-m]u-u(?!) ki-i-nu am Schlusse von obv. 10 zu lesen wäre. Von [1183] Rm. 561 sind leider nur die Anfänge der Zeilen des Obv. erhalten, Rv. und linker Rand sind ganz verstümmelt. Obv. 1 ff.: [a]-na šar matâte be-lī ²ilū bēl ilū nabû u ¹¹šamaš a-na] (Trennungsstrich) ³enuma ina araḥ maššarti-ka sin ana ⁴kakkabn LU . BAT . SAG . UŠ(?)⁹⁶ (Trennungsstrich) ⁵enuma ina araḥ maššarti-ka sin(?)⁹⁷ ana ⁶enuma ina araḥ maššarti-ka im (Trennungsstrich) ⁷enuma ina araḥ maššarti-ka ina li ⁸enuma ina araḥ maššarti-ka Arḫu maššartika “in dem Monat deiner Beobachtung, in dem Monat, in welchen du deine Beobachtung anstellst.”

Als einer der zahlreich vertretenen Klagebriefe ist [1321] K. 5440a anzusehen, der hier erwähnt sei, weil er wahrscheinlich von einem Hofastrologen abgesandt wurde. Obv. 3 ff.: [t]al-tap-ra a-du ⁴. a-ma-al-lu ta-a-la ⁵ina paṭar parzilli ša šarri bēli-ia lu ⁶la-a(?) -ma-a-ti šarru bēli a-na ⁷a-na-ku lu-mu-ut ki-i ša ⁸kakkabāni^{me8} šamē lu-uš-šu[r] ⁹a-ta-mara-na bēl šarrāni^{me8} ¹⁰ka-lu-ú-tu in-nin ¹¹az-za-ḫar ina lib-bi ¹²e-kur a-li-’i ¹³ana UD AN ^den-lil Zu beachten ist obv. 8: “Die Sterne will ich beobachten,” und

⁹⁵ Sin. IV, 16. NAD-1g; Sec. Suppl., XVIII, 15 N[AD-1g]. Varianten mit l-rab-bi-šu bei Thompson, *Rep.*, 134. rv. 6; 136 A, rv. 4, usw.

⁹⁶ Die Ausgabe hat ta.

⁹⁷ Die Ausgabe hat man.

obv. 13, die Erwähnung des astrologischen Omenmerkes UD AN^d en-lil.⁹⁸

Eine Anzahl von Briefen, die sich nicht unter denen historischen oder kultischen Inhalts einordnen lassen, ist trotz ihres oft bunten Inhalts nicht ohne Interesse und kulturgeschichtlich von Wichtigkeit. [1362] D.T. 289 handelt von dem Transport von Schêdufiguren und dürfte mit [984], vielleicht auch mit [420], [579] im Zusammenhang stehen. Obv. 4 ff.: eli^ame^{lu}⁵šà lib^alu a-di-[a]⁶a^{lu}ta-az⁷šarru be-li iš-[pu-ra?] ⁸ma-a gab-bi-šu-nu me⁹lil-li-ku an¹⁰šà^ame^{lu} rabâni^{meš} ki-[i . . .] ¹¹zaḫ-pu šarru be-lī¹²ma-a^{lu}šêdu^{lu} lamassu¹³ar-ḫi-iš li-iq-bu¹⁴a-du mē^{meš} ina nâri¹⁵a-di(?) ib¹⁶a^{lu}me^{lu} bēl-ḫi¹⁶man-nu pa-an Rv. ¹i-za-za m[ar]²a^{lu}me^{lu} rabâni^{meš} ina pa-ni³i-da-gul[ina] šab ti[m]⁴šarru be-lī ina pa-ni⁵lid-gul dul-lu a-na⁶lu-ša-ak-ši-di la⁷sum-ma šarru be-lī i-gab-[bi]⁸ma-a lil-li-ku⁹u^alu aššur-a-a V^alu kal(?) ḫa-a-a¹¹inapa-an^{lu}šêdu^{lu} lamassu¹²lu-u šu-nu¹³ma^alušà Bei dem fragmentarischen Zustand des Textes erübrigt sich eine Übersetzung.—Das kleine Bruchstück [1233] 82–5–22, 161, das nur einige wenige Zeilen enthält, ist vielleicht mit [283] zusammenzubringen, in beiden werden ti-il-li ša kaspi genannt und ein gewisser Zillâ erwähnt.

Das sich unter den Briefen mehrfach Duplikate finden, ist bekannt, auch in den beiden neuen Briefbänden sind gleichlautende Stellen mit früheren Texten vorhanden. [1244] 83–1–18, 119 ist schon in mehreren Abschriften vertreten, der Text deckt sich fast ganz mit [543] und [1108] und in seinem grösseren Teile auch mit [273]. Eine besondere Eigentümlichkeit des neuen Textes ist, dass er die ideographische Schreibweise bevorzugt, oft in so starkem Ausmasse, dass man ohne Duplikate die richtige Lesung nicht ohne weiters finden würde. Obv. 1 ist nach [1108] obv. 13 ff.:

⁹⁸ Das auch an der von mir (*AJSL*, a.a.O., 125) missverstandenen Stelle [1096] obv. 13 erwähnt wird. Vgl. noch Thompson, *Rep.*, 152, rv. 1 f.: ¹ḫu^{lu}li^{lu}u am-me-u ša UD AN^d en-lil ša ni-iš-ṭur-u-ni.

[ina mu]ḥ ša taq-bu-u-[ni] zu ergänzen, die Fassung von [1244] ist etwas kürzer, lässt ma-a šarru la u-ram-ma (vgl. [1108] obv. 14 f.) aus, obv. 2 f. hat [1244] [u]r u liš nam-ma la . . . našûni^{meš}, [1108] dagegen ur^{ki} liš ša nam mu ištu qât šarri . . . [1244] obv. 6 ff. lautet: la iṣ-šu-ru la e-ni-šu la piti^{meš} 7 ina eli maṣṣarti-ku-nu KI KIL (Trennungskeile) ni 8 e-ni-šu-ni pitâ^{meš} ni, von diesen Zeilen haben die Duplikate fast nichts erhalten, [543] rv. 2 ff. hat: ina eli ma[ṣṣar]ti-[ku]-ni ki-i 3 e-mur-u-ni e-ni-šû-u-ni me (lies pi?)-tû-u-ni. Rv. 15 ff. ist nach den Duplikaten zu ergänzen: 7 [m^{11u}] bēl-eṭir m^{ar}-ba-[.ja-a 8 [amēlu^urab]-ki-šir sisê^{meš} ina qâtê-šu-nu 9 [na-aṣ-š]u-ni iz-za-zu i[tti]-[k]u-nu [dul-lu li-pu-šu].

Teilweise ist auch [1194] 79–7–8, 293 mit [997] K. 1524 identisch. [1194] ist ein höchst interessanter Text, der von der Verwendung gewisser Metallmengen spricht, die eingeschmolzen und zu allerlei Gegenständen verarbeitet wurden. Der Text ist in allen Einzelheiten wegen seiner Fachausdrücke nicht verständlich, aber lexikalisch sehr wichtig. Ich gebe zunächst von [1194] obv. 1–6 und dann die ähnlich lautende Stelle aus [997] obv. 1 ff.: . . . a-ba⁹⁹ šà-kinu-u-ni 2 ni-iḥ-[t]i-at . . . ta-ta-a up-tar-ri-is(?) 3 ina eli šarri be-lî-iá a-sa-ap-ra 4 XXIII ma-na ḥurâši áš šà(?) ud áš¹⁰⁰ a-du še-lu-a-ti 5 nu-ši-ia-di u-ra-qu-qu a-du me-i-nu 6 šà šarru be-lî i-gab-bu-ni. [997] obv. 1 ff.: ina eli dul-li šà . . . 2 šà šarru be-lî iṣ-pu-[ra-an-ni] 3 ma-a ḥurâšu i-na pi-it-t[i] . . . 4 ḥa-an-ni-e li-pu-š[u] 5 an-nu-rik ḥurâšu kaspu 6 šà ina lib-bi makkuri šà^{11u} sin 7 šà i-na abnu^{ku} nukki ša^{m^{11u}} sin-zer-ibni ni-iḥ-ti-at 8 XXIII ma-na ḥurâši a-du še-lu-a-te na-áš 10 . . . nu-ši-ia-di an-nu-rik u-ra-qu-ub 11 . . . m[i]-i-nu šà šarru i-gab-bu-u-ni. šâdu bedeutet "glühen," vom Metalle, vgl. II R 29ab D È sa-a-du ša erê (SAI, 4808), II₁ bedeutet "glühend machen," "schmelzen," vgl. maṣadu, CT, XI, pl. 50, 82–8–16, 1 rv., Kol. IV, 23, neben pēntum, kinûnu also wohl "Ofen" und speziell

⁹⁹ Vielleicht [bit amēlu]a-ba zu ergänzen?

¹⁰⁰ Text kaum in Ordnung, lies etwa abnu^{PI}, vgl. rv. 8.

“Schmelzofen.” *šelûtu* ist der Zusatz, der den Metallen beim Schmelzprozess beigegeben wird. *raqâqu* “dünn sein,” vgl. Behrens, S. 3, hier II₁ “dünn machen,” also vielleicht “flüssig machen” (von der Metallmasse gesagt) oder “dünn machen” (von der Bearbeitung des heissen Metalls). [997], obv. 10 u-ra-qu-ub in [1194] steht an entsprechender Stelle u-ra-qu-qu, vielleicht auch hier so zu lesen. Falls der Text richtig, ist [1245] rv. 5 heranzuziehen, wo das Wort als III₁ in mir unverständlichen Zusammenhang begegnet, obv. 3 ff.: GIŠ.TUK(?) lu-ma-a-ni ^{abnu}ki-ša-d[u]? ⁴qaqqadu pa-zu-za-a-ni ina rêši-šu ⁵i-ba-aš-ši u-šar-qu-ub. [1194] obv. 6 ff. lautet: ḫa-ra-ma-ma ⁷i-sa-ki-ru XI biltu XIX ma-na kaspi ina âli-ma ⁸šâ ^{abnu}PI šâ ina bît makkuri ša ^{11u}sin ⁹a-du še-lu-a-ti gab-bu ¹⁰ù XVIII ma-na VI SU ḫurâši XXI ma-na kaspi ¹¹a-na ma-šâr(?) šâ alpê^{mes} niqê^{mes} šâ pa-na-at šarri ¹²is-si-b[i]r bît na-kan-ti šâ bît ^{11u}sin šâ-ki-in ¹³II šalmu šarrâni^{mes} dannûti^{mes} L šalmu ku-ri-bi šalmu ṭiṭi^{mes} kaspi ¹⁴III si-ip-pi kaspi I ruq-qu kaspi ¹⁵[ḫa?]-an-ni-u[] du(?)-lum ip-šu ¹⁶V biltu ta-an XII ma-na LAL kaspi ¹⁷šuqultu-šu-nu šâ šarru be-lî Rv. ¹a-na igarâte^{mes} šâ ad-me-ni šâ ^{11u}nin-gal ²e-pu-šu-u-ni ina bît na-kan-ti šâ ^{11u}nin-gal ³šâ-ki-in ù I bilat kaspi ina lab-te ⁴mi-iq-li ^{abnu}kunukku šâ ^m^{11u}sin-i-gal nappah ḫurâši ⁵ina muḫ-ḫi ma-a ina lib iškari-ia šu-ú ⁶iškaru me-me-ni ina pa-ni-šu la-a-šu mi-i-ni ⁷šâ šarru be-lî i-gab-bu-u-ni ⁸kaspu an-ni-u šâ a-na šarri be-lî-ia ⁹aš-pur-an-ni šâ ir-bi šú-ú la qa-lila ma-si. Obv. 6 ff.: “Hierauf werden sie abdämmen.”¹⁰¹ 11 Talente 19 Minen Silber befinden sich in der Stadt. Pistein, welcher im Schatzhaus des Sin, samt allen Zusätzen und 18 Minen 6 SU¹⁰² Gold, 21 Minen Silber hat er zu—der Rinder und Opfer vor dem König zerbrochen(?), im Schatzhaus ist es hinterlegt. 2

¹⁰¹ Gemeint ist vielleicht das aus dem Schmelzofen fließende Metall durch Erde, Sand, abdämmen, so dass der Ausfluss eingestellt wird.

¹⁰² SU vgl. Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 57¹², 6 SU = 10 Schekel, 1 SU = $\frac{1}{6}$.

Bilder der 'mächtigen Könige,' 50 Bilder von Keruben, Bilder aus Ton, Silber, 3 Türpfosten aus Silber, 1 Platte(?)¹⁰³ aus Silber, diese Arbeit(?) ist gemacht(?). 5 Talente weniger 12 Minen Silber ist ihr Gewicht. Was der König, mein Herr, für die Wände des Ningaltempel verfertigt¹⁰⁴ hat, ist im Schatzhaus der Ningal hinterlegt und 1 Talent Silber ist in der Flamme¹⁰⁵ des Schmelzofens(?).¹⁰⁶ Das Siegel, weswegen Sinigal, der Goldschmied, (gesagt), gehört zu meinem Arbeitsmaterial,¹⁰⁷ er hat keinerlei Arbeitsmaterial vor. Was der König, mein Herr, anbefohlen wird. Dieses Silber, welches ich dem Könige, meinem Herrn, gesandt habe, gehört zum Einlauf, nicht ist es geglüht, geschmolzen(?).¹⁰⁸ Von rv. 10 ff. an berührt sich der Text wieder eng mit [997], rv. 10 ff.: *ù ina eli tak-ku-us-si šà* ^{11u}*šú-ri-in-ni* ¹¹*šà šarru be-li iq-bu-u-ni ma-a a-šim-mi* ¹²*ma-a ra-man-šà ta-ad-di-ib šul-mu a-dan-niš* ¹³*šarru be-li la hi-ib-bu la-a qi-lum* ¹⁴*... la hi-ib-šu ina lib-bi-šà [ki-i qi-lum e-pa-šu]-u-ni i-da-al-ḥu* ¹⁵*... ul.* Rv. 10 ff.: "Und in Betreff des—des Gottessymbol, worüber der König, mein Herr, gesagt: ich habe gehört, es selbst ha(s)t—¹⁰⁹ es ist in schönster Ordnung, o König, mein Herr, kein Hieb(?), keine Verbrennung(?), kein Sprung(?) ist daran. [Wie sie die Brennung vornehm]men, sind sie ängstlich" [997] rv. 2 ff. ist fast gleichlautend: *ù ina eli tak-ku-us-si šà* ^{11u}*šu-ri-ni* ³*šà šarru be-li iq-bu-u-ni ma-a a-si-me* ⁴*ma-a ra-man-šà ta-ad-di-ib* ⁵*šul-mu a-dan-niš šarru be-li la hi-ib-bu* ⁶*la-a qi-lum* *ù la hi-ib-šu ina lib-bi-ša* ⁷*ki-i qi(?) -lum e-pa-šú-u-ni i-da-al-ḥu* ⁸*e-tap-šu tar-bi-tu šap-li-tu* ⁹*la taḥ-lu-ul-la-tu un... su kiš* ¹⁰*ir(?)* . . . [t]i tar-bi-tu

Zu der Kategorie der Bettelbriefe, die ja ziemlich häufig sich unter den Briefen der Assurbanipalbibliothek finden, gehört [1261]

¹⁰³ Falls zu *raq&qu* "dünn sein" zu stellen.

¹⁰⁴ Natürlich im Sinne von: hat verfertigen lassen.

¹⁰⁵ Vgl. Zimmern, *Šurpu*, VIII, 58 (MA, 475b).

¹⁰⁶ Zu *qalû* "verbrennen" zu stellen.

¹⁰⁷ Vgl. Torczyner, *Tempelrechnungen*, 90.

¹⁰⁸ *masû*, wohl syr. aram. "ܡܫܐ" "schmelzen" (Landsberger).

¹⁰⁹ Kaum zu *ad&pu* "anblasen," Küchler, *Med.*, 90.

Bu. 91-5-9, 148, ein an den Kronprinzen gerichtetes Schreiben. Der Absender Nâşiru bittet den Kronprinzen zu vermitteln, dass er ein Haus, das der König ihm versprochen, erhalte, sonst müsse er vor Entbehrung zugrunde gehen. Obv. 1-7 Einleitungsformel. Obv. 7 ff.: am-me-ni ina la pa-ši-ri ⁹ina ku-šu a-ma-a-ti ¹⁰V UD GAZ a-ga-a ¹¹šarru iq-ta-bi ¹²um-ma bîtu a-na ¹³na-ši-ru ¹⁴in-na(?) -a ¹⁵man-ma bîtu ¹⁶ul id-di-na ¹⁷a-na mâr šarri ¹⁸be-lî-a Rv. ¹a-na muḥ-ḥi ²lu-ša-aḥ-si-is-ma ³bîtu ša šarru iq-bu-ú ⁴lid-di-nu-ni ⁵ina ku-šu la a-ma-a-ti ⁶šamaš u ^{11u}marduk ⁷a-na mâr šarri be-lî-ia ⁸lik-ru-bu ⁹mâr šarri be-lî-a ¹⁰a-na muḥ-ḥi lu-ša-aḥ-si-is-ma ¹¹bîtu lid-di-nu-nim-ma ¹²ina lib-bi lu-ub-luṭ-ma lu-lam-ma ¹⁴ina pa-[an] šarri ¹⁵u mâr šarri . . . e ¹⁶ša te(?) ri. in. Obv. 7 ff.: "Warum soll ich in Un— und Kälte sterben? Diese 5—¹¹⁰ hat der König folgendermassen gesprochen: 'Ein Haus dem Nâşiru *gebt*.'¹¹¹ Irgendjemand hat ein Haus nicht gegeben. Den Kronprinzen, meinen Herrn, will ich diesbezüglich gemahnen, das Haus, welches der König gesagt, möge man mir geben, in Kälte möge ich nicht zugrunde gehen, Samaš und Marduk mögen den Kronprinzen, meinen Herrn, segnen. Der Kronprinz, mein Herr, möge deswegen in Erinnerung bringen, ein Haus möge man mir geben, darin will ich leben, ich will hinaufgehen, vo[r] dem König und dem Kronprinzen" Von sonstigen Briefen sei noch [1335] K. 7326 erwähnt, als dessen Absender neben Aqar-bêl-lumur [^mnabû-šum-li]šir zu gelten hat, der Name ist nach [264] und [261] zu ergänzen, ferner [1290], ein Text, der die Ablieferung von še'u kisûtu und še'u tabku an den König berichtet.

Anschliessend an die obigen Ausführungen sei eine Anzahl neuer oder seltener Worte aus den Briefen zusammengestellt, auf deren Bedeutung für das *Lexikon* man schon seit langem aufmerksam geworden ist. Die folgende kleine Liste, die keine Vollständigkeit beansprucht, möge die früher (*AJSL*, XXVIII, 131 ff.) gegebene fortsetzen, sie beschränkt sich auf vol. XII u. XIII des Harper' schen Briefcorpus.

¹¹⁰ Man erwartet etwa: vor 5 Tagen (Monaten).

¹¹¹ Man erwartet einen imp. von nadânu.

a k-k-a-a-i [1339] K. 8379, obv. 13. a k ū "schwach sein": e k ū t u "Mangel," "Not" [1274] K. 471, obv. 13. t e k ū t u, dass. [1240] 83-1-18, 46, obv. 7. a k a n n a "jetzt": a-d-a-k-a-n-ni "bis jetzt" [1205] 81-2-4, 97, obv. 10. a-lu-ú [1216] 82-5-22, 105, rv. 6. alla 1.) mehr als 2.) ausser, ausgenommen [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 16. ^{im}er a š a p p u : a-š a p-pi [1290] K. 4282, obv. 6 (vgl. Beamtentum 113²). a š á š u "fragen," "forschen" (Behrens, *Briefe*, 2): II₁ u-ši-ši [1308] K. 4786; obv. 4; uš-ši-ši [1175] Rm. 65, rv. 8. II₂ u-ta-ši-ši [1176] Rm. 68, obv. 8.

b ū l u, eine Steinart [1245] 83-1-18, 21, rv. 15, vgl. ^{ab}nu bu-u-li [628] K. 1247, obv. 14 (wohl identisch mit p ū l u, p ū l u). b i s : b i - i s [1308] K. 4786, obv. 6, rv. 9 (vgl. Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 71). b i š š u "Nachkommenschaft(?)" "Same(?)," ¹¹² vgl. Reisner, *Hymnen*, 119, rv. 3 (SAI 3495). b a r á k u [unsicher] [1216] 82-5-22, 105, obv. 10. b i t - a l - l u [1184] Rm. 565, rv. 8. b a t t u "Seite" (Johnston, *AJS*, XXVII, 187): i n a b a - t a - t a - a - a "zu meinen(?) Seiten(?)." [1290] K. 4282, obv. 7. Behrens' Annahme "nacheinander" passt an vorliegender Stelle und in [992] rv. 10 kaum.

d a g á l u "schauen": d i g l u "Blick," "Vision" (?) [1285] K. 4267, ~~obv.~~ 32: u ḫ - ḫ u r ū d i - i g - l u u n - t a - a d - d i, vgl. [1021] K. 4785, rv. 2: p a - a n d i - g i - l i - i a a n - n i - i - u.

ḫ a b á š u "bersten" (?) : ḫ i b š u "Sprung" (?) [1194] 79-7-8, 293, rv. 14. ḫ u l l á n u, ein Gewand: ^{sub}a^{tu} ḫ u - l a - n u [1257] Bu. 91-5-9, 3, rv. 7, vgl. *HWB*, 277b, *MA*, 315a. ḫ a š á b / p u : l i - i ḫ - s i - b u [1178] Rm. 74, obv. 16. ḫ a š á b u "abschneiden" (vom Rohr) [1200] 80-7-19, 45, obv. 10, vgl. Meissner, *Suppl.*, 40b. ¹¹³ ḫ a r á d u : ḫ a r - d u - ú - t e [1203] 81-2-4, 72, rv. 6; l a - a ḫ - r i - i d [1250] Bu. 89-4-26, 4, rv. 13. ḫ a r a m a m a "hierauf," *passim*, vgl. *Beamtentum*, 30¹, Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 61. ḫ u r s a n [1202] 81-2-4, 66, rv. 14. Vgl. die bei Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, § 5a, angeführten Stellen, besonders [390] rv. 16 ff.: a š - p u - r a m a - a s u m - m a i n a ḫ u r - s a - a n ¹⁷ l a - a l - l i k s u m - m a k a - l a - b u ¹⁸ l a - a n -

¹¹² Landsberger = b e š u Eil.

¹¹³ Vgl. noch. K. 3820 + K. 6739 + Sm. 251 (tellw. unveröffentlicht) obv. 16: q a n é i ḫ - z u - u b.

tu-ḥu sum-ma ḥi-ṭa-a-a ¹³ina pân šarri bēli-ia [i]-ba-aš-šu-u-ni. "In—will ich gehen oder ein k. tragen, wenn Vergehen meinerseits gegen den König, meinen Herrn, vorliegen." Identisch mit ḥuršan (Ylvisaker, a.a.O.), vgl. besonders [965] K. 2889, rv. 11 f.: ina pa-an šarri abi-ka ¹²ḥur-ša-an ina muḥ-ḥi-šu-nu pa-ri-si, vgl. noch VR 47, rv. 31 (Martin, *Journal asiat.*, X ser., tom. XVI [1910], 141 f.; King, *Boundary Stones*, 16). Peiser's tērtu ša ili (OLZ, XIV [1911], 477 ff.; auch noch Hinke, *AJSL*, XXIX, 219⁶) ist unhaltbar. Wahrscheinlich ist auch ḥursu [550] K. 633 heranzuziehen, vgl. obv. 7 ff.: ma di-ni-šu e-pu-šu ⁹bēl-di-ni-šu ina ḥu-ur-si(?) [it?]-ta-lak. idû "wissen": tedîtu "Wissen," "Kenntnis" [1287] K. 4267, rv. 8.

kadâru: . . . ka-na-a-šu ka-da-a-ru ù pu-ú-tu ša êkalli . . . [1285] K. 4267, obv. 28. kizirtu [1277] K. 884, obv. 3, 6. kuribu "Kerub" [1194] 79-7-8, 293, obv. 12.

labtu "Flamme" [1194] 79-7-8, 293, rv. 3.

mugirru "Wagen" [1369] 83-1-18, 249, rv. 4, vgl. Behrens, *Briefe*, 77³. madâdu birti ênâ [1273] K. 463, rv. 12, vgl. Johnston, *JAOS*, 19, 60; Behrens, *Briefe*, 102¹. masû "schmelzen" [Landsberger] [1194] 79-7-8, 293, rv. 9. miqlu, etwa "Schmelzofen" [1194] 79-7-8, 293, rv. 4.

na zâmu "klagen" (?), "sich beschweren" (?) [1202] 81-2-4, 66, rv. 4. nikâsu: epêš nikâsu "Rechnung legen" (Behrens, 43) [1202] 81-2-4, 66, obv. 16 f.; 21 f. niraku [unsicher] [1277] K. 884, rv. 6.

sagû "verbleiben" [1286] K. 4275, rv. 6. sâdu [1247] 83-1-18, 125 obv. 18. silûtu [1202] 81-2-4, 66, obv. 25. simunu [1217] 82-5-22, 108, rv. 12, vgl. simânu. pâgu "wegnehmen": pu-agi [1273] K. 463, rv. 2, vgl. Johnston, *JAOS*, XX, 251 f.; *Beamtentum*, 36⁶; Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 50⁴). pâšu "wegnehmen" (vgl. *AJSL*, XXVIII, 110²¹) [1273] K. 463, rv. 5. paḥâzu "zurückhalten(?)" [1202] 81-2-4, 66, rv. 5. pak/ḫ âru: tap-ki-ir-ta [1277] K. 884, rv. 6. pilurtu [1277] K. 884, obv. 3, 4; rv. 1. pasâmu, pasânu "binden(?)": pisindu "Bande"(?). pasurtu (=busurtu, vgl. Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, § 4) "Freudenbotschaft": pa-su-ra-at du-un-qi [1184] Rm. 565, rv. 4.

šâdu "glühen" (vom Metall), II, "schmelzen" [1194] 79-7-8, 293, obv. 5.

šaḥâd / tu [1173] Rm. 56, rv. 7: . . . [n]i-mu-lu duppu ša-ḥi-it-tu ša šarri . . . šilû "feindlich sein" [1204] 81-2-4 78, obv. 7.

qabasû "mittlerer," "innerer" (?),¹¹⁴ vgl. qabsu:ni-ru-bu qa-ba-si-u [1243] 83-1-18, 114, obv. 6. Hiedurch wird auch die bisher unverständliche Stelle [367] 83-1-18, 38, rv. 4 klar, vgl. rv. 1 ff.: ù ka-tar-ru ʔina eli igâri ʔša a-bu-sa-a-te ʔqa-ba-sa-a-te [mittlere, innere Krippen (Stallungen)] it-ta-mar. qarâḥu "kalt sein": qarḥu "Kälte" (קרה) [1305] K. 4756, rv. . . . [me]š ina muḥ-ḥi-šu ʔi-za-nun šum-mu qar-ḥu ʔina muḥ-ḥi-šu la iq-ru-ḥu ʔina meš-la-a-te (Mitte) ša arḥu šabâti tunakara^a ma, vgl. [544] K. 464, rv. 6: qar-ḥu idanan^a.

ridû "treiben": tardûtu "Trieb," "Abtrieb" (von Vieh): a-na tar-di-ti ša si[sê] [1309] K. 4796, obv. 14. raqâbu: u-šar-qu-ub [1245] 83-1-18, 121, rv. 5. raqâqu "dünn sein" [1194] 79-7-8, 293, obv. 5. ruqqu, ebenda obv. 14, etwa "Platte."

šadag(d)iš:i-ša-dag-di [1174] Rm. 63, rv. 10; šad-da-giš [1200] 80-7-19, 45 rv. 21. šelûtu "Zusatz" [1194] 79-7-8, 293, obv. 4, 9, vgl. [997] K. 1524, obv. 9. šamû, šamêtu "himmlisch" [1340] K. 8412, obv. 10. šapal qâtê "heimlich" (Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, 67). šaqâbu:i-ša-qu-bu-ub [1349] K. 12975 rv. 2.¹¹⁵ šaršarânu "Aufrührer," "Rebell" [1341] K. 8433, obv. 9: ša-ar-ša-ra-nu, vgl. K. 2401, Kol. II, 10 (*BA*, II, 637).

tenû, etwa "Kasten": te-nu-û ša^{sub}batu gu-zip-pi-ia i-ba-aš-šu-ni [1285] K. 4267, rv. 28. tukkanu:i-na tuk-ka-ni ma-a-t[a?] i-gam-mar [1273] K. 463, rv. 11 f., vgl. die Stellen *AJS*L, XXVIII, 133. Nach der vorliegenden Stelle und [1034], rv. 7: ina tuk-ka-nu la a-ḥal-liq könnte man für t. eine Bedeutung "Mangel," "Not" vermuten (vgl. akû?). tak-kussu [1194] 79-7-8, 293, rv. 10, vgl. [997] K. 1524, rv. 2.

¹¹⁴ Nach Landsberger Weiterbildung von qabaltu > qabasu, wozu er šakultu > šakusu [366] 82-5-22, 96, obv. 9 und batultu > batusu in Johns, *Doomsdaybook* vergleicht.

¹¹⁵ Zusammenhang nicht herstellbar, so möchte ich lesen nicht . . . i ša qu-bu-ub wegen der Trennungskelle vor i, zu solchen Elamismen, vgl. ausser Ylvisaker. *Gram.*, 40, auch Martin, *Lettres neobabyloniennes*.

GIŠ.RÛ (Br. 909) [1202] 81-2-4, 66, obv. 27. ^{12u}ŠU.A [1219] 82-5-22, 122, obv. 6 (vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 8347).

Zur Bildung der Verbalformen ist zu bemerken, dass in den beiden letzten Briefbänden besonders häufig doppelte *t* Bildungen vom Grundstamme anzutreffen sind. Ich weise auf folgende Formen hin: a-ti-it-zi [1174] Rm. 63, rv. 11. il-ta-ta-kan [1204] 81-2-4, 78, rv. 1. un-ta-ta-zi-qu [1205] 81-2-4, 97, rv. 5. uq-da-ta-mu(?) [1235] 82-5-22, 159, rv. 2. ub-ta-ta-'a [1264] Bu. 91-5-9, 185, rv. 8. i-ti-it-zi [1288] K. 4277, obv. 10. it-ti-ti-zi [1318] K. 5420b, rv. 3. al-ta-tap-par [1341] K. 8433, rv. 5.¹¹⁶

Zum Schlusse möge als Fortsetzung der früher gegebenen geographischen Namenlisten und der Berufsamenverzeichnisse eine Uebersicht der geographischen Eigennamen (A) und der Berufsamen (B) in den beiden letzten Bänden des Briefcorpus folgen.

A.

ālu UESI: ú-e-si? [1196] 80-7-79, 30, obv. 10.

ālu ADIA: ālu a-di-[a] [1362] D.T. 289, obv. 5. ālu a-[di-a] [1238] K. 4635, obv. 7.

mātu AKKADU: mātu ak-ka-di-i [1236] 82-5-22, 167, rv. 1. mātu akkadu^{ki} [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 18; [1344] K. 10120, obv. 8. akkadu^{ki} [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 15, 18, 20. [ak]kadu [1242] 83-1-18, 82, obv. 2.

ālu EKALLĀTE: ālu e-gal-meš [1285] K. 4267, rv. 16.

UKANA-AI: [] ú-ka-na-a-a [1175] Rm. 65, obv. 16.

mātu ELAMTU: mātu nim-ma^{ki} [1195] 80-7-9, 16, obv. 8, rv. 3; [1198] 80-7-19, 33, rv. 9; [1204] 81-2-4, 78, rv. 6; [1222] 82-5-22, 126, rv. 3; [1260] Bu. 91-5-9, 126, obv. 5; [1262] Bu. 91-5-9, 165, obv. 6, rv. 4, 5; [1275] K. 564, obv. 15, rv. 4; [1280] K. 1545, obv. 8, rv. 2; [1286] K. 4275, rv. 12, 16; [1304] K. 4748, obv. 15; [1311] K. 5062, obv. 6, 28; [1315] K. 5217, obv. 12; [1331] K. 5627, obv. 6; [1335] K. 7326, obv. 13; [1339] K. 8379, rv. 4; [1341] K. 8433, obv. 13; [1348] K. 12975, obv. 4, 5. [mātu]nim-ma^{ki} [1286] K. 4275, obv. 19. mātu nim-m[a^{ki}] [1198] 80-7-19, 33, rv. 7. mātu nim-ma [1267] S. 518, rv. 3; [1286] K. 4275, obv. 11, 13. mātu nim-[ma] [1314] K. 5793, obv. 18. amēlu mātu nim-[ma^{ki}] [1284] K. 3652, obv. 7. nim-ma^{ki} [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 13.

¹¹⁶ Es war mir leider nicht möglich die Korrektur (mit Ausnahme der Listen) des vorstehenden Artikels zu lesen. Auf meine Bitte hat Herr Dr. Ylvisaker die Lesung der Korrektur übernommen, wofür ich auch an dieser Stelle ihm danke.

- amēlu**INDARU-AI: amēluin-da-ru-a-a [1237] 83-1-18, 1, rv. 17.
URU: šeš-unu^{ki} [1222] 82-5-22, 126, rv. 8; [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 16, 18; [1246] 83-1-18, 123, rv. 7, 10; [1274] K. 471, obv. 2; [1342] K. 8440, obv. 5.
āluARBAILU: āluarba-ilu [1177] Rm. 71, obv. 12; [1203] 81-2-4, 72, rv. 8; [1217] 82-5-22, 108, obv. 3; [1285] K. 4267, rv. 14; [1343] K. 9811, obv. 7. āluarba-il[u] [1343] K. 9811, obv. 7.
ERIDU: nun^{ki} [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 12. eri-dug-ga [1176] Rm. 68, rv. 8.
āluARADATA-AI: [ā]lu-a-ra-da-ta-a-a [1335] K. 7326, rv. 33.
āluURZUḤINA: āluur-zu-ḥi-na [1192] Rm. 993, rv. 2.
āluURḤULA-AI: āluur-ḥu-la-a-a [1335] K. 7326, rv. 32.
URUK: unu^{ki} [1204] 81-2-4, 78, rv. 4; [1207] 81-2-4, 112, obv. 4; [1231] 82-5-22, 154, obv. 2; [1233] 82-5-22, 161, rv. 8; [1293] K. 4671, rv. 2; [1366] 48-11-4, 283, obv. 11, rv. 5, 6. amēluuruk^{ki}-a-a [1366] 48-11-4, 283, rv. 9. uruk^{ki}-meš, ebenda, obv. 8. [ur]uk^{ki}-meš, ebenda, obv. 15.
amēluARAMU: amēlu-a-ra-mu [1361] D.T. 270, rv. 8.
āluARPADDA: āluār-pad-da [1287] K. 4276, obv. 15.
āluARRAPḤA: āluarrap-ḥa [1360] D.T. 264, rv. 5. ār-rap-ḥa [1244] 83-1-18, 119, obv. 10. āluarrap-ḥa(?) [1347] K. 10991, obv. 11.
mātuURARTU: mātuú-ra-ar-di [1240] 83-1-18, 46, obv. 5. mātu urarṭa-a-a [1298] K. 4695, obv. 5.
mātuARAŠU: mātu-a-ra-šu [1309] K. 4796, rv. 4.
āluAŠDUDU: ālu-aš-du-du [1307] K. 4775, rv. 6.
āluIŠNUNAK: ālu-iš-nu-na-ak [1277] K. 884, obv. 6.
amēluIAŠIAN: amēluia-š[ji-an] [1342] K. 8440, rv. 2.
mātuAŠŠUR: mātu ilu-aššur^{ki} [1195] 80-7-9, 16, obv. 1, 3, rv. 5; [1242] 83-1-18, 82, obv. 3; [1309] K. 4796, rv. 6. [mātu] ilu-aššur (dug)^{ki} [1242] 83-1-18, 82, obv. 1. [mātu] ilu-aššur^{ki} [1282] K. 2641, rv. 4. mātu-aššur^{ki} [1204] 81-2-4, 78, obv. 8, rv. 10; [1236] 82-5-22, 167, rv. 2; [1239] 83-1-18, 45, obv. 2, 8, 14; [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 9, 15, rv. 12; [1246] 83-1-18, 123, rv. 6; [1284] K. 3652, rv. 6; [1286] K. 4275, obv. 2; [1304] K. 4748, obv. 16; [1336] K. 7361, rv. 2; [1341] K. 8433, obv. 5; [1365] 48-7-20, 119, rv. 17; [1366] 48-11-4, 283, obv. 5, 17, 19, rv. 8; [1367] 81-2-4, 48, obv. 4. mātu aššur [1173] Rm. 56, obv. 7; [1282] K. 2641, obv. 3; [1313] K. 5097, rv. 12; [1348] K. 12975, rv. 1; [1368] 83-1-18, 199, obv. 4. mātu-a[ššur] [1326] K. 5473, rv. 8. mātu-ašš[ur] [1195] 80-7-9, 16, obv. 9; [1237] 83-1-18, 1, rv. 24; [1366] 48-11-4, 283, obv. 16. mātu-aššur (áš) [1239] 83-1-18, 45, obv. 17, 21, rv. 4, 11; [1249] 83-1-18, 361, obv. 3. aššur-a-a [1291] K. 4299, rv. 10. ālu-aššur (šà-eri) [1238] 83-1-18, 20, obv. 4; [1276] K. 668, rv. 10; [1285] K. 4267, rv. 14; [1360] D.T.



- 244, obv. 6. *ālu*aššur (šà-eri)-a-a [1238] 83-1-18, 20, obv. 4; [1360] D.T. 244, obv. 7; [1362] D.T. 289, rv. 9. *amēlu*aššur-a-a? (šà-er|i-a-a) [1215] 82-5-22, 101, rv. 3. aššur (?) [1365] 48-7-20, 119, obv. 17.
- ālu*AŠITI: *ālu*a-ši-ti [1216] 82-5-22, 105, obv. 17. *ālu*a-ši-t[i] ebenda, obv. 11.
- BĀBILU: *tin-tir*^{kl} [1185] Rm. 563, obv. 10, 13; [1208] 81-2-4, 114, obv. 5; [1215] 82-5-22, 101, obv. 10, rv. 26; [1216] 82-5-22, 105, obv. 15; [1222] 82-5-22, 126, rv. 7; [1236] 82-5-22, 167, rv. 4, 6, 9, 13; [1247] 83-1-18, 125, obv. 4, 7, 19, rv. 8; [1309] K. 4796, obv. 25; [1319] K. 5431b, obv. 12; [1326] K. 5473, rv. 4; [1334] K. 7317, obv. 5, 8, rv. 5, 7; [1337] K. 7372, rv. 12; [1340] K. 8412, obv. 17. *tin-tir*^{kl} [1215] 82-5-22, 101, obv. 13; [1330] K. 5617, rv. 13. [tin]-*tir*^{kl} [1215] 82-5-22, 101, obv. 21. *amēlu**tin-tir*^{kl}-a-a [1319] K. 5431b, obv. 12. *tin-tir*^{kl}-meš [1340] K. 8412, obv. 11. *kà-dingir-ra*^{kl} [1282] K. 2641, obv. 1; [1309] K. 4796, rv. 7. *bāb-ili*^{kl} [1245] 83-1-18, 121, obv. 4.
- ālu*BAB-BITQI: *ālu**bāb-bit-q*[i] [1312] K. 5083, obv. 11.
- mātu*BARHAL(Z)ZU: *mātu**bar-ḥa-az-zi* [1233] 82-5-22, 161, obv. 5.
- BARSIP: *bar-sip*^{kl} [1202] 81-2-4, 66, obv. 15, 18. *nāru**bār-sip*^{kl} [1214] 81-2-4, 131, obv. 3, 5. [b]ār-*sip*^{kl} [1345] K. 10489, rv. 4.
- ālu*BIT-UKĀNI: *ālu**bit-mú-ka-a-ni* [1292] K. 4307, obv. 6.
- ālu*BIT-IMBIA: *ālu**bit-im-bi-i* [1352] K. 13122, rv. 4.
- amēlu*GIBALA-AI: *amēlu**gi-bal-a-a* [1283] K. 2646, rv. 9.
- amēlu*GUUDUDANU: *amēlu**gu-du-da-nu* [1237] 83-1-18, 1, rv. 15.
- amēlu*GAMBULU: *amēlu**gam-bu-li* [1281] K. 1904, 4.
- amēlu*GIMIRA-AI: *amēlu**gi-mir-a-a* [1237] 83-1-18, 1, obv. 12, rv. 1.
- ālu*GARGAMIS: *ālu**gar-ga-mis-a-a* [1287] K. 4276, obv. 9.
- amēlu*GURASIMMU: *amēlu**gu-ra-si-im* [1236] 82-5-22, 167, obv. 8, 11, 15. *amēlu**gu-ra-sim-mu* [1342] K. 8440, rv. 12. *amēlu**gu-ra-sum-mu* [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 6, 14, rv. 7.
- ālu*DILBAT: *ālu**dil-bat*^{kl} [1255] Bu. 89-4-26, 164, obv. 23, rv. 2. *dil-bat*^{kl} [1208] 81-2-4, 114, obv. 9, 10; [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 8.
- ālu*DIRU: *ālu**di-ri* [1314] K. 5193, rv. 19; [1332] K. 5997, rv. 10; [1349] K. 13003, obv. 4. *dūr-ili*^{kl} [1335] K. 7326, obv. 9, 19.
- ālu*DŪR-BILIḤA: *ālu**dūr-bi-li-ḥa-a-a* [1292] K. 4307, obv. 5.
- ālu*DŪR-LADINI: *ālu**dūr-la-di-ni* [1292] K. 4307, obv. 5.
- ālu*DŪR-ŠARRUKIN: *ālu**dūr-šarru-gi-na* [1177] Rm. 71, obv. 15, rv. 10. *ālu**dūr-šarru-gi-na*?, ebenda obv. 13.
- amēlu*DU(?)TA-AI: *amēlu**du(kin)-ta-a*[-a] [1279] K. 1174, obv. 5; [1342] K. 8440, rv. 3.
- DŪR-TALITI: *dūr-ta-li-ti* [1192] Rm. 993, rv. 3.

- mātu ZABBAN: mātu zab-ban [1191] Rm. 970, obv. 12.
 ālu ZAGGAB: ālu zag-gab [1216] 82-5-22, 105, rv. 14.
 mātu ZAMU: mātu za-mu [1244] 83-1-18, 119, obv. 5.
 mātu ḪĀU: mātu ḫa-a-ú [1192] Rm. 993, obv. 4, rv. 7.
 mātu ḪUBUŠKIA: mātu ḫu-bùš-ka-a-[a] [1298] K. 4695, obv. 10.
 ālu ḪIDALU: ālu ḫi-da-lu [1311] K. 5062, obv. 25. ālu ḫa-a-da-lu [1309] K. 4796, obv. 17.
 mātu ḪALAHḪU: mātu ḫa-la-ḫi [1180] Rm. 216, obv. 5, 12.
 amēlu ḪAMATA-AI: amēlu ḫa-ma-ta-a-a [1232] 82-5-22, 157, obv. 5. (amēlu) ḫa-mat-a-a [1346] K. 10849, obv. 2. amēlu ḫa-mat-[a-a] ebenda, rv. 8.
 amēlu ḪINDIRU: amēlu ḫi-in-di-r[u] [1281] K. 1904, 3.
 mātu ḪARGI: mātu ḫar-gi [1273] K. 463, rv. 2. mātu ḫar-ga-a-a, ebenda, rv. 3. (mātu) ḫar-ga-a-a, ebenda, rv. 6.
 HARSAGKALAMMA: ḫar-sag-kalam-ma^{ki} [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 7.
 ālu ḪARRAN: ālu ḫarran (kas) [1217] 82-5-22, 108, rv. 8.
 amēlu ḪATALA-AI: amēlu ḫa-tal-a-a [1175] Rm. 65, obv. 12.
 amēlu ḪATARGILI: amēlu ḫa-tar-gi-li [1342] K. 8440, rv. 10.
 ālu ṬURUŠPĀ: ālu ṭu-ur-uš-[pa-a] [1295] K. 4677, rv. 4.
 mātu KUKIBI: mātu ku-ki-bi [1263] Bu. 91-5-9, 172, obv. 9.
 amēlu KALDANU: amēlu kal-da-nu [1341] K. 8433, obv. 10.
 ālu KALḪU: ālu ka-laḫ [1317] K. 5397, obv. 6. ālu kal-ḫa [1349] K. 13003, obv. 8. ālu kal(?) -ḫa-a-a [1362] D.T. 289, rv. 10.
 KULLAB: kul-unu^{ki} [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 12.
 ālu KAMMUḪI: ālu kam-mu-ḫi [1343] K. 9811, obv. 11.
 ālu KISIG: ālu ki-sig [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 16.
 ālu KUSALLA: ālu ku(?) -sal-l[a] [1213] 81-2-4, 125, obv. 3.
 ālu KAR-ĒRE: ālu kar-ērē meš [1325] K. 5462, rv. 1.
 mātu KAR-DUNIAŠ: (mātu) kar-ilu du-ni-ia-a-aš [1283] K. 2646, rv. 18. mātu kar-ilu d[u-ni-ia-a-aš], ebenda, obv. 4.
 ālu KAR-ŠULMANU-AŠARIDU: ālu kar-m ilu šulmanu-ašaridu [1234] 82-5-22, 158, obv. 3.
 ālu KIŠ: ālu kiš^{ki} [1322] K. 5455b, obv. 9. kiš^{ki} [1255] Bu. 89-4, 26, 164, obv. 12.
 KUTA: tig-gab-a^{ki} [1214] 81-2-4, 131, obv. 18, rv. 7; [1258] Bu. 91-5-9, 71, obv. 4.
 ālu LUBDA: ālu lu-ub-da [1191] Rm. 970, obv. 14.
 ālu LAḪIRU: la-ḫi-ri [1244] 83-1-18, 119, obv. 9. amēlu ālu la-ḫi-ra-a-a [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 5. ālu la-ḫi-r[i] [1304] K. 4748, obv. 8.
 amēlu LUḪUTA-AI: amēlu lu-ḫu-ta-a-a [1175] Rm. 65, obv. 8.
 ālu LARAK: ālu la-rak [1292] K. 4307, obv. 6. ud-ud^{ki}-meš [1230] 82-5-22, 153, rv. 6.
 mātu MUZAŠIR: mātu mu-za-ši[r] [1196] 80-7-9, 30, obv. 8.

- alu MANDIRI-AI: ālu man-di-ri-a-a [1314] K. 5193, rv. 20.
 mātu MANNA-AI: mātuman-na-a-a [1237] 83-1-18, 1, obv. 10, 13, 20, rv. 3.
 ālu MARAD: ālu ma-ra-ad [1363] D.T. 301, obv. 6. ālu ma-rad, ebenda, obv. 7, 14.
 mātu MUŠUR: mātumu-šur [1202] 81-2-4, 66, obv. 13.
 MĀT-TAMTIM: māt-tam-tim [1241] 83-1-18, 53, rv. 2, 7; [1248] 83-1-18, 135, obv. 6; [1251] Bu. 89-4-26, 52, rv. 8; [1342] K. 8440, rv. 7.
 NINUA: ninua^{ki} [1216] 82-5-22, 105, obv. 8. ālu nin[ua^{ki}] [1229] 82-5-22, 149, rv. 4. ni-nad-a^{ki} [1222] 82-5-22, 126, rv. 5.
 NIPPUR: en-lil^{ki} [1195] 80-7-9, 16, obv. 10; [1215] 82-5-22, 101, rv. 2; [1230] 82-5-22, 153, rv. 8; [1366] 48-11-4, 283, obv. 6, 18. en-lil^{ki}-a-a [1213] 81-2-4, 125, rv. 1. en-lil^{ki}-meš [1366] 48-11-4, 283, obv. 7.
 ālu PILLAT: ālu pil-lat [1315] K. 5217, obv. 14. amēlu pil-la-t[u] [1311] K. 5062, obv. 14.
 mātu PUQUDU: mātubu-qu-du [1241] 83-1-18, 53, rv. 7. ālu bu-q[u-du] [1365] 48-7-20, 119, rv. 11. amēlu bu-qu-du [1241] 83-1-18, 53, rv. 2; [1279] K. 1174, rv. 4; [1309] K. 4796, obv. 9. amēlu bu-qu-[du] [1328] K. 5563, obv. 2. amēlu bu-q[u-du] [1281] K. 1904, 2.
 mātu PARSUMAŠ: mātupar-su-maš [1309] K. 4796, obv. 18. amēlu par-sa-maš [1311] K. 5062, obv. 20. par-sa-maš, ebenda, obv. 23.
 amēlu SABĦANU: amēlusab-ḫa-nu-ú [1226] 82-5-22, 144, obv. 4.
 mātu SAMIRNA-AI: mātusa-mir-na-a-a [1201] 81-2-4, 51, obv. 4.
 SIPPAR: sip-par^{ki} [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 7.
 amēlu RU'A-AI: [amēlu]ru-'a-a-a [1281] K. 1904, 3. amēlu ru-'ú-a-a [1222] 82-5-22, 126, rv. 6.
 mātu RAḪI: mātura-a-ḫi [1275] K. 564, rv. 1.
 amēlu RAŠA-AI: amēlu ra-ša-a-a [1260] Bu. 91-5-9, 126, obv. 2.
 ālu ŠADDINA: aluša-ad-dina^{na} [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 17.
 ālu ŠIBIRTU: ālu ši-bir-tu [1203] 81-2-4, 72, rv. 1.
 mātu ŠUPRIA: mātušup-ri-a [1176] Rm. 68, obv. 5, 7, 9, 20.
 ālu ŠUŠAN: ālu šu-ša-an [1284] K. 3652, obv. 19.
 mātu TABAL: mātuta-ba-li [1307] K. 4775, rv. 7.
 nāru TUBULIAŠ: nāru tu-bu-li-'-aš [906] K. 1146, obv. 2.
 amēlu TAḪHASAR: amēlu taḫ-ḫa-sar [1311] K. 5062, obv. 13.

UNSICHERES.

Es folgt eine Reihe von Stellen, an denen die Eigennamen entweder verstümmelt sind oder der Zusammenhang nicht mit Sicherheit erkennen lässt, ob ein Eigenname überhaupt vorliegt.

- ālu a-lu . . . [1284] K. 3652, obv. 14.
 ālu e-si(?) . . . [1342] K. 8440, obv. 7.

ālu bīt- . . . [1326] K. 5473, obv. 10.
 ālu bīt-m . . . [1284] K. 3652, obv. 16.
 mātū bīt-za-ma-n[i?] [1193] Rm. 998, obv. 10.
 amēlu gu(?) -la(?) -pa(?) -nu [1326] K. 5473, obv. 6.
 mātū gim-lu [1249] 83-1-18, 361, obv. 12.
 ālu ḥa-a . . . [1311] K. 5062, obv. 19.
 nāru ḥu-ud ḥ[u-ud] [1311] K. 5062, obv. 28.
 mātū ḥa-a[n?] . . . [1292] K. 4307, rv. 12.
 ālu kab-ra-a-ti [1348] K. 12975, obv. 6.
 ālu kak-[zu?] [1197] 80-7-19, 32, obv. 3.
 mātū kal-da(?) -a-[a] [1193] Rm. 998, rv. 4.
 ālu ka[r] . . . [1294] K. 4676, obv. 1.
 ālu me . . . [1294] K. 4676, obv. 2.
 ālu sa-am . . . [1284] K. 3652, obv. 15.
 ālu s[i] . . . [1299] K. 4710, rv. 5.
 mātū si-in-gi . . . [1224] 82-5-22, 128, rv. 3.
 ālu q[u?] . . . [1285] K. 4267, obv. 2.
 ālu ša-ma . . . [1309] K. 4796, rv. 13.
 ālu tar . . . [1287] K. 4276, rv. 16.
 ālu ʔ-ḡir [1306] K. 4762, rv. 6.
 ālu 𐎧𐎢𐏁 . . . [1252] Bu. 89-4-26, 83, obv. 2.

B.

amēlu A. BA: amēlu a-ba [1217] 82-5-22, 108, rv. 12, 14; [1234] 82-5-22, 158, obv. 2; [1250] Bu. 89-4-26, 4, rv. 17. amēlu a-ba āli [1238] 83-1-18, 20, obv. 3.
 amēlu UMMANU: amēlu um-ma-ni [1285] K. 4267, obv. 30.
 amēlu ERIB-BĪTĪ: amēlu tu meš-bīti [1258] Bu. 91-5-9, 71, obv. 3.
 amēlu URASU: amēlu ú-ra-si [1310] K. 4799, obv. 8. amēlu ú(?) -ra-si [1249] 83-1-18, 361, rv. 3.
 amēlu ASŪ: amēlu a-su-ti [1285] K. 4267, rv. 1.
 amēlu ERRIŠU: amēlu apin [1287] K. 4276, obv. 7.
 amēlu UŠPARU: amēlu uš-bar [1364] D.T. 317, rv. 3.
 amēlu EŠIRTI: amēlu X-ti [1285] K. 4267, obv. 30.
 amēlu BĒL-PAḤĀTI: amēlu en-nam [1227] 82-5-22, 145, obv. 8; [1281] K. 1904, 6; [1295] K. 4677, rv. 3; [1315] K. 5217, rv. 11; [1316] K. 5264, obv. 20. en-nam [1236] 82-5-22, 167, rv. 16; [1244] 83-1-18, 119, obv. 9. amēlu en-nam-meš [1241] 83-1-18, 53, obv. 10; [1315] K. 5217, rv. 15. nam [1244] 83-1-18, 119, obv. 5. amēlu nam-meš [1250] Bu. 89-4-26, 4, rv. 6; [1285] K. 4267, rv. 22.
 amēlu BĒL-PIQITTE: amēlu bēl-pi-qi-te [1291] K. 4299, rv. 6.
 amēlu BARC: amēlu ḥal [1278] K. 915, rv. 5. ba-ru-ú [1247] 83-1-18, 125, rv. 2. amēlu ḥal-meš [1216] 82-5-22, 105, rv. 2. amēlu ḥal-me, ebenda, rv. 8. amēlu ba-ru-u-te [1245] 83-1-18, 121, obv. 9.

- amēlu BARENNU: amēlubar-en-nu [1341] K. 8433, rv. 5.
 amēlu GUENNA: amēlugú-en-na [1208] 81-2-4, 114, obv. 4.
 amēlu GALLU: amēlugal-la [1316] K. 5264, rv. 24. amēlugal-lam [1310] K. 4799, obv. 9.
 amēlu DĀGIL-IŠŠŪRI: amēluda-gil-ḫu [1346] K. 10849, obv. 7. amēluda-gil-ḫ[u], ebenda, obv. 1.
 amēlu DAMQARU: amēludam-ḫar [1273] K. 463, rv. 22. amēludam-ḫar-meš [1317] K. 5397, obv. 5.
 amēlu DUPŠARRU: amēludup-šar [1344] K. 10120, rv. 6. amēludup-šar-meš [1216] 82-5-22, 105 rv. 2, 8.
 amēlu ZAKKŪ: amēluzak-ki-e [1263] Bu. 91-5-9, 172, rv. 9.
 amēlu ḪAZANNU: amēluḫa-za-nu [1238] 83-1-18, 20, obv. 9, rv. 4. amēluḫa-za-na-ti, ebenda, obv. 2, rv. 11.
 amēlu KALŪ: amēluuš-ku [1137] 80-7-19, 32, obv. 9.
 amēlu KALLAPU: amēlu kal-la-pu ši-bir-ti [1369] 83-1-18, 249, obv. 3. kal-la-pu ši-bir-ti, ebenda, obv. 8.
 amēlu KĀŠIRU: amēluku-ka-sar [1285] K. 4267, rv. 28.
 amēlu MUKIL-APĀNI: amēlumu-kil-su-pa-meš [1364] D.T. 317, rv. 1.
 amēlu MĀR-ŠĪPRI: amēlu a-qi [1216] 82-5-22, 105, obv. 3; [1222] 82-5-22, 126, obv. 15, rv. 14; [1247] 83-1-18, 125, obv. 4, 7, 18. [1284] K. 3652, rv. 6; [1286] K. 4275, obv. 5, 11, rv. 11, 16; [1296] K. 4679, obv. 10; [1309] K. 4796, rv. 3. [1326] K. 5473, rv. 4. [1328] K. 5563, rv. 11. [1335] K. 7326, obv. 8, rv. 11. amēlu a-qi-meš [1260] Bu. 91-5-9, 126, obv. 13; [1311] K. 5062, obv. 17. [amēlu] a[]-qi-meš, ebenda, obv. 22. amēlukur-šip-ri [1206] 81-2-4, 100, obv. 9; [1240] 83-1-18, 46, rv. 8; [1273] K. 463; rv. 23. amēlu kin-gi-a [1275] K. 564, obv. 13.
 amēlu MAŠMAŠU: amēlu maš-maš [1216] 85-2-22, 105, obv. 14. [1285] K. 4267, rv. 16. amēlu maš-maš-meš [1285] K. 4267, obv. 18. [amēlu] maš-maš [1216] 85-2-22, 105, obv. 10.
 amēlu MŪTIR-PŪTU: amēlu gur-bu-tú [1297] K. 4689, rv. 12. [amēlu] gur-bu-tú [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 5. amēlu gur-[bu-tú] [1297] K. 4689, obv. 11.
 amēlu NAGIRU: amēlu na-gi-ru [1279] K. 1174, rv. 8. [amēlu na]-gi-ru, ebenda, obv. 14. amēlu lagar [1315] K. 5217, obv. 22. amēlu ner [1273] K. 463, obv. 15.
 amēlu NASIKU: amēlu na-si-[ku] [1331] K. 5627, obv. 5. amēlu na-si-ka-a-ni [1315] K. 5217, obv. 13.
 amēlu NAPPAḪU: amēlu nap-pa-ḫa [1317] K. 5397, obv. 3. amēlu simug ḫurāši [1245] 83-1-18, 121, obv. 3. nappaḫ ḫurāši [1194] 79-7-8, 293, rv. 4.
 amēlu NARU: amēlu lul [1216] 82-5-22, 105, obv. 19. amēlu lul-gal [1343] K. 9811, obv. 5.

- amēlu QĒPU: amēlu ẓi-pi [1275] K. 564, obv. 19. amēlu ẓi-e-pa-ni [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 6.
- amēlu QAQQADU: amēlu sag-du-meš [1238] 83-1-18, 20, obv. 3.
- amēlu RE'U: amēlu sib [1289] K. 4278, rv. 2. amēlu sib-meš [1354] K. 13139, obv. 6.
- amēlu RABĀNI: amēlu gal-meš [1308] K. 4786, rv. 6; [1309] K. 4796, obv. 23; [1362] D.T. 289, obv. 10, rv. 2; [1363] D.T. 301, rv. 3.
- amēlu RAB-ALĀNI: amēlu gal-alānimeš [1295] K. 4677, rv. 6.
- amēlu RAB-BI.LUB: amēlu gal-bi-lub [1221] 82-5-22, 125, obv. 4.
- amēlu RAB-DANIBATI: amēlu gal-da-ni-ba-tim-ma [1210] 81-2-4, 117, obv. 13.
- amēlu RAB-DUPŠAR: amēlu gal-dup-šar [1344] K. 10120, rv. 4.
- amēlu RAB-KIŠIR: (amēlu) gal-ki-šir [1290] K. 4282, rv. 5. (amēlu rab)-ki-šir [1244] 83-1-18, 119, rv. 8.
- amēlu RAB-MUGU: amēlu gal-mu-gi [1217] 82-5-22, 108, rv. 5, 18; [1343] K. 9811, obv. 9.
- amēlu RAB-REŠI: amēlu gal-sag [1236] 82-5-22, 167, rv. 19; [1276] K. 668, rv. 5; [1365] 48-7-20, 119, rv. 2.
- amēlu RAB-SINNIŠĀTI: amēlu gal-sal-meš [1364] D.T. 317, obv. 4.
- amēlu RAGGIMU: amēlu ra-ag-gi-mu [1285] K. 4267, rv. 31. amēlu ra-ag-gi-ma-nu [1216] 82-5-22, 105, obv. 9. sa¹ra-ag-gi-ma-a-tu, ebenda.
- amēlu REŠU: amēlu sag [1208] 81-2-4, 114, obv. 11; [1285] K. 4267, rv. 3. amēlu sag-meš, ebenda, obv. 29.
- amēlu ŠA-KUBŠI: amēlu ša-kubši-meš [1224] 82-5-22, 128, rv. 11, 12.
- amēlu ŠA-MUḤ-ĀLI: amēlu ša-muḥ-āli [1217] 82-5-22, 108, rv. 12; [1230] 82-5-22, 153, obv. 4.
- amēlu ŠA PĀN ĒKALLI: amēlu ša pān ēkalli [1344] K. 10120, rv. 13.
- amēlu ŠAKNU: amēlu šak-nu [1215] 82-5-22, 101, rv. 3. [1226] 82-5-22, 144, rv. 5; [1313] K. 5097, obv. 10. amēlu šak-ni [1217] 82-5-22, 108, rv. 13. amēlu šaknu nu [1227] 82-5-22, 145, obv. 7.
- amēlu ŠA.KU (ŠĀKIN-ṬĒMI): amēlu ša-ku [1204] 81-2-4, 78, obv. 4; [1327] K. 5561, obv. 2.
- amēlu ŠALŠU: amēlu šalšu šu-meš [1352] K. 13122, rv. 2.
- amēlu ŠALŠU-RAKBU: amēlu III-ḥu-si [1364] D.T. 317, rv. 2. (amēlu) III-ḥu-si [1324] K. 5460, rv. 4.
- amēlu ŠAMALLU: amēlu šagan-lal-ú [1321] K. 5440a, rv. 5.
- amēlu ŠANU: amēlu II-u [1295] K. 4677, rv. 6. amēlu II-iša amēlu la-ḥi-ra-a-a [1214] 81-2-4, 131, rv. 5.
- amēlu ŠANGU: amēlu šit [1229] 82-5-22, 149, rv. 3; [1308] K. 4786, rv. 5.
- amēlu ŠERKU: amēlu še-ir-ki [1214] 81-2-4, 131, obv. 13.
- amēlu ŠATAMMU: amēlu ša-ta[m] [1247] 83-1-18, 125, obv. 3.
- amēlu TURTANU: amēlu tur-ta-nu [1325] K. 5462, rv. 3.

Es folgt eine Reihe unsicherer Bezeichnungen:

- amēlu i-š[e?] . . . [1225] 82-5-22, 143, obv. 9.
amēlu uš [1365] 48-7-20, 119, rv. 23.
amēlu i-ta . . . [1283] K. 2646, rv. 12.
bēl-[paḫāti] [1244] 83-1-18, 119, obv. 9.
amēlu ba-as [1283] K. 2646, rv. 15.
amēlu kib-? . . [1225] 82-5-22, 143, obv. 10.
amēlu ki . . . [1304] K. 4748, obv. 11.
amēlu nu-ḫa . . . [1222] 82-5-22, 126, rv. 16.
amēlu qi [1311] K. 5062, obv. 33.
amēlu rab-ka-ṣi-[ru] [1246] 83-1-18, 123, rv. 6.
amēlu ša muḫ . . . [1295] K. 4677, rv. 11.
amēlu ša pi . . . meš [1340] K. 8412, obv. 22.¹¹⁷

LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON *ulušinnu*, BALSAM, PISTACEA WINE

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The obscure word *u-lu-ši-nu* in K. 2036, 20 (*CT*, 18, 23) can certainly be defined as "spice, aromat," and possibly even more definitely as "balsam." It is followed in this vocabulary by *bu-su-u m-tu*, the cognate of Aramaic בִּישָׁן, aromat, drug, and belongs to the same root as *bašām u*, Hebrew בִּשְׁמ, balsam. This word has been falsely entered in the lexicons as *pusumtu*, and no meaning has been assigned to it. The vocabulary mentioned above gives the synonym of *ulušin u* and *busumtu* as *raḫ-[ḫu]*. This restoration is inevitable, for a word *riḫḫu* meaning "balsam" is known from the Amarna Letters. See Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln* No. 48, 8 *riḫ-ku* glossed by the Canaanitish *zu-ur-wa*, צִרִי, balsam. Of course a restoration *raḫ-[ḫa-tu]* is also possible but in any case the root *raḫāḫu* is certain here.

The same vocabulary places *dašpu = matḫu*, mead, and *a-lap-pa-nu = matḫu* before *ulušin u* and immediately before *ulušin u*, *alappanu*=[. . . .]. *a-lap-pa-nu* has been read *a-kal pa-nu* in our lexicons. *alappanu* is probably connected with לְבָנָה, frankincense, and the Aramaic אֵילָבָנָה unguent made with aromatics. In Assyrian the word *alappanu* has suffered dissimilation of sonant *b* to surd *p* to avoid three sonants in the root. The word according to K. 2036 has two meanings, (a) an aromatic drink, mead, and [(b) an aromat, frankincense]. Thus Meissner's suggestion in *MVAG*, 1904, 32, note 1, to read *šam lu-ba-nu* in Sm. 786, 3 = K. 8846 Rev. 26 + Rm. 364 Rev. 3 and to identify it with the word לְבָנָה is in any case on the right track. But *šammu lubānu* is probably the plant from which *alappanu* was made. This plant occurs with the same dissimilation of *b > p* as *lu-pa-nu* in ^{mat}*Lu-pa-ni*, II Raw. 51a 8, the land of the frankincense plant. *Ibid.*, d 24 read also ^{mat}*Lu-pa-ni*. Our reading is rendered certain by the fact that ^{mat}*Al-la-nu* follows *Lupani*

II R. 51a 9 and ^{isu} al-la-nu is found with ^{isu} lu-pa-nu, Rm. 367 Rev. 17-19 in Meissner, *Supplement*, pl. 23. Here the Sumerian for lu-pa-nu is GIŠ-LAM-ĠAL, regarded as a wood, and is followed by buṭuttu=buṭuntu, pistacia. Since GIŠ-LAM-ĠAL=bu-ṭuttu and GIŠ-LAM-ĠAL=lupānu, lubanu and lupānu probably represent the resinous *pistacia lentiscus* or mastix-tree. This resin is light in color and this agrees with the root לבן, be white. Note also the Sumerian GIŠ-LAM-ĠAL, "fruit tree (whose sap) flows," and GIŠ-LAM-ĠAL, "the great fruit tree." This pistacea is well called fruit tree, for the pistacea nut was a common edible. We may therefore assume lubānu > lupānu = mastix tree, and alappānu mastix and aromatic drink made with pistacea nuts.

ulušinnu and alappanu are not only the names of aromats, viz., balsam and mastix, but both words denote two closely allied drinks. ulušinnu in this sense is a loan-word from ulušin=k aš-AŠ-A-AN, i.e., the liquor of AŠ-A-AN and this ideogram means both alappanu and buṭuttu [Meissner, *SAI*, 4829 f.]. Both words are here employed for the nut or edible part of the pistacea. Hence ulušinnu, if our reasoning be correct, would certainly mean a liquor made from the pistacea nut. Now the Sumerian for the liquor alappanu is KAŠBIR=k aš-A-SUD, [*SAI*, 3518]. KAŠ-BIR means "the flaming, sparkling liquor," see BIR 3) in my *Sum. grammar*, 206, and ULUŠIN means the "shining oil," see for ulu=oil, *Babyloniaca*, II, 100, and for šIN, *Sum. grammar*, 240. For KAŠBIR=alappanu note also Radau, *Miscellaneous Texts*, No. 13, V, 13, KAŠBIR-A-NI a-la-pu-un-ma (so transliterate, see *ibid.*, "Radau," p. 382), "Her pistacea wine is the alapu." For ulušinnu see also my *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 330, 4, where read NI-KUR-NE ULUŠIN GAŠ-TIN, "they consume pistacea wine and grape wine." It is also used in a ritual, K. 2605, Rev. 4 Gray, *Shamash*, pl. IX, ULUŠIN-NA ŠU-TA.

I do not mean to infer that we have reached entire certainty in regard to all these words, but their philological connections are perfectly clear and their meanings reasonably so.

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF AN-ĀM

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A few years ago a dealer offered for sale a small black stone tablet, which was undoubtedly a forgery, in the sense that it was a modern copy of an old inscription. It was very well cut, but almost too well, for I doubt if Babylonian stonecutters ever made such careful and exact reproductions of the scribe's characters. I have since shown both photograph and rubbings to assyriologists of repute and they assure me that the inscription at any rate is genuine and worth publishing. It may be transcribed:

(1) DINGIR-RI (2) NIN-A-NI-IR (3) AN-A-AN SIB-ZID (4) UNUG-KI-GÀ
(5) DUMU KI-AG (6) DINGIR-RI-GÉ (7) E(?) É-A-NI IGI-ŠÚ (8) MU-UN-GÍ
(9) KI-BI NE-GE-A (10) A-KA-NUN-DI-DAM (11) MU-UN-DŪ

Not being a Sumerian scholar, my rendering must be tentative; but I suppose this means: "To NINNI, his lady, ANĀM, the faithful shepherd of Erech, the beloved son of NINNI, the (?) of her house has repaired, to its place restored, built."

Not very much is known of this king. In the above inscription, he does not call himself king. But two tablets are known which give him that title, being dated in the year of his accession. Thureau-Dangin considers him to be identical with Anām, *abba* of the people of Erech, who was son of Bél-šemea, and restored the wall of Erech, an ancient erection of Gilgamesh; and also with Anām a librarian(?), son of Bél-šemea, who built the temple of Nērgal, the divine king of Ušipara, for the life of Sin-gāmil, the king of Erech (see *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 222, 238). His date has been assigned on paleographical grounds to a period soon after the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon. It is still uncertain whether he is to be identified with the Ilu-ma-ilu, who was king of the Sea-land and contemporary with Samsu-iluna and Abêšu'; or with the king Iluma-ila, who is known from contracts apparently contemporary with the First Dynasty of Babylon; or finally with

the founder of the so-called Second Dynasty of Babylonia (see L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, I, 71 ff.).

The text gives the name of the goddess in the first line as DINGIR-RI, the sign RI being very plain. This sign, as in many texts of the First Dynasty, is clearly a graphical variant of the sign usually read NINNI, which is more nearly reproduced in line 6. It would make an interesting study to collect and compare the forms of this sign in different epochs. It is altogether uncertain what the sign at the beginning of line 7 should be. The space seems to be too wide for λ and I can think only of ϵ . A break in the stone looks absolutely fresh, but not deep enough to have carried away the traces of other wedges if there ever were any. I judge that the modern artist broke it purposely to avoid betraying his lack of knowledge.

Book Notices

EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO¹

This work¹ contains the results of the excavations of Sellin and his associates at Jericho. The digging occupied three weeks in the spring of 1907, and three months in each of the years 1908 and 1909. While it was impossible in this time to explore the whole mound, enough was discovered to reveal the history of the culture of the site. Beneath the Canaanite ruins the remains of a prehistoric wall were discovered. As this could not be explored without destroying later strata, it is not known what it had to reveal. Further work should be done on this early stratum. In view of the rich contribution to anthropology made by the excavation of Gezer, it is a pity that, when on the verge of similar discoveries at Jericho, the exploration was not carried through.

The wall of the Canaanite city was traced on the north, west, and a part of the south sides. On the east it had entirely disappeared. From the outline of this wall it appears that the whole site of pre-Israelitish Jericho was but little larger than the Colosseum at Rome. This, however, is not surprising, as the space occupied by all the cities of that period which have been explored was small. In the ruins of this period a jar-handle, stamped with an Egyptian scarab of the Middle Kingdom, was found. At the northern end a Canaanite fortress, surrounded by two walls, was discovered. These walls were both of brick, resting on stone foundations. The outer wall was of later construction than the inner, and was much the stronger. At intervals small cross-walls connected them. Into the city wall towers had at some time been inserted, after the manner of those found at Gezer. This Canaanite city was destroyed by a siege in which all the woodwork had been burned. Sellin thinks it may have been the Habiri of the El-Amarna period, whom he identifies with the Hebrews, at whose hands the city suffered. This destruction was followed by a long period of ruin.

When the Israelites rebuilt Jericho, they made it a more extensive city. They smoothed the ruins into terraces and erected their houses upon them. A child's body under one of the houses, together with the shreds of an amphora, pointed to the ninth century as the beginning of the Israelite occupation. This accords with the statement in I Kings 16:34, that Hiel rebuilt Jericho in the reign of Ahab. A large fortress or palace belonging to this period was discovered, which Sellin conjectures may have been built

¹ *Jericho, die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen.* Dargestellt von Ernst Sellin und Carl Watzinger. Mit 4 Tafeln, sowie 550 Abbildungen im Text und auf 45 Blättern. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913. iv + 190 + 45 Blätter, folio. M. 66.

by Hiel. The general style of its architecture resembles the Hittite buildings. After an occupation of about 200 years the city was again destroyed, perhaps at the time of Sennacherib's invasion.

Jericho was again reoccupied in Jewish times. The pottery found here is characteristic of that from the sixth century to the Greek period. In late Jewish time jar-handles stamped with Jah and Jahu were discovered. This city figures in Maccabaeen history, and was destroyed by Vespasian about 70 A.D. It was rebuilt by Hadrian and afterward Justinian built a guest-house there. Traces of this Byzantine occupation were found. Above the ruins of this last-mentioned time were found only Moslem graves.

The publication of the work is well executed. The illustrations are copious and well done. One only regrets that the excavation was abandoned before the whole mound was turned over. In reality the digging covered but a fraction of it. No sanctuary was found, though Jericho, like Taanach, Megiddo, and Gezer, must have had its high place. Stone idols from the Canaanite strata, and a clay idol from the Israelitish, are earnest of this. It is to be hoped that at some time the work may be reopened and completed.

GEORGE A. BARTON

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A NEW INTRODUCTORY HANDBOOK OF EGYPTIAN¹

It is a very remarkable fact that whereas the layman can find convenient and well-arranged handbooks in the English language, which will introduce him to the various languages of Western Asia, he will search in vain for any such introductory guide to Egyptian in English. This is the more extraordinary because Egyptian hieroglyphic is the one picturesque system of ancient writing which most easily attracts the attention and rouses the interest of the cultivated student or the casual tourist. Moreover, Egypt is the one land of the ancient Orient which is the paradise of the greatest number of modern tourists. The writer has met scores of travelers on the Nile who were endeavoring to gain some slight knowledge of the picturesque writing which covers the vast walls of the Egyptian temples. Such attempts were always based upon the scanty outlines offered in the guide-books, or on a primer which represents a state of knowledge a generation or two old.

A generation of epoch-making study of Egyptian grammar at the hands of German scholars, led by Erman, has found absolutely no reflection in the available books of instruction in English, unless we except the English version of the first edition of Erman's *Grammar*, now, unhappily, twenty years old.

With the purpose of meeting the need for such a book in Germany, and also of supplying the student with a less expensive volume than the

¹ *Ägyptisch. Praktische Einführung in die Hieroglyphen und die ägyptische Sprache, mit Lesestücken und Wörterbuch*, von Günther Roeder. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1913.

Grammar and Chrestomathy of Erman, Dr. Günther Roeder, of Breslau, has just produced an excellent little volume in Strack's new series of Oriental Grammars, known as *Clavis linguarum semiticarum*, of which it forms the Sixth Part. The volume represents the very latest state of knowledge in Egyptian science, and is admirably adapted for the purpose which the author has in view. The presentation of the grammar is surprisingly condensed, containing all the elements of the language in 54 pages. The list of the signs comprising the system of writing occupies 10 pages, and to this a little dictionary of 17 pages is added. A selection of well-chosen texts, suited for reading by a beginner, occupies 56 pages at the end of the volume, with a few pages of grammatical and explanatory notes.

While congratulating the German traveler on the Nile upon the possession of a textbook so convenient and reasonably priced, and which will introduce him quickly and intelligently to the mysteries of Egyptian speech and writing, we cannot but express regret that no such volume exists in English.¹

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HELPS FOR THE ELEMENTARY STUDY OF ARABIC

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Since my note bearing the above title was published, in the January number of this *Journal*,² I have had opportunity to examine the new (1913) edition of Brünnow's *Arabische Chrestomathie aus Prosaschriftstellern*, edited by Fischer.

The selections are for the most part new, and are on the whole well chosen and arranged. The glossary is prepared with especial care, but—unfortunately for English-speaking students—only in German. It is to be hoped that an edition with Arabic-English glossary may also be published. It would doubtless meet with a hearty welcome, both in this country and in England.

CHARLES C. TORREY

YALE UNIVERSITY

¹ A little volume of even less technical character, representing the elements of Egyptian speech and writing, and intended chiefly for youth, has just been furnished for the "Sammlung Göschen" by Professor Erman, the founder of the modern school of Egyptian grammatical study, in a delightful little treatise entitled *Die Hieroglyphen*, von Dr. Adolf Erman, Berlin and Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung G. m. B. H., 1912.

² See pp. 138 f.

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The Weather and Climate of Chicago. (Bulletin No. 4, Geographic Society of Chicago.) By Henry J. Cox, Professor of Meteorology, United States Weather Bureau, and John H. Armington, Local Forecaster, United States Weather Bureau.

396 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$3.00, postage extra (weight 3 lbs. 1 oz.)

This book, of general interest because of its character and authority, will naturally be of peculiar interest to residents of Chicago and the Middle West. Its importance is indicated by the fact that it is issued under the auspices of the Geographic Society of Chicago, and has been prepared by two of the best known weather experts in the country. It includes discussions of a great variety of subjects, such as temperature, precipitation, atmospheric moisture, cloudiness and sunshine, wind direction and velocity, barometric pressure, and storm tracks; and among the interesting appendixes to the book are one on the weather of holidays and another containing journal entries relative to the great Chicago Fire of 1871.

The volume contains also a remarkable series of tables with reference to temperature, precipitation, atmospheric moisture, and atmospheric pressure—one hundred and forty-seven in all, with more than one hundred figures and plates.

Of especial interest and importance to teachers in connection with *The Weather and Climate of Chicago* is the preceding Bulletin of the Geographic Society edited by Professor Cox, and by Professor J. Paul Goode of the University of Chicago. It was prepared by a committee of the Geographic Society of Chicago and is entitled *Lantern Slide Illustrations for the Teaching of Meteorology*. It will be found an admirable aid in interesting students in the phenomena of weather and climate.

Unpopular Government in the United States. By Albert M. Kales, Professor of Law in Northwestern University.

272 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postage extra (weight 1 lb. 8 oz.)

This volume by a prominent member of the Chicago bar is an especially timely book, presenting with great clearness and cogency some of the political needs of the country, particularly the necessity of the short ballot. The author defines unpopular

government as one of centralized power which is able to maintain itself in the face of popular disapproval. He then points out that the establishment in the United States of state and municipal governments, according to the plan of splitting up the power of government among many separate offices and requiring the widest and most frequent use of the elective principle, has cast so great a burden upon the electorate that an intelligent citizen is reduced to a state of political ignorance inconsistent with self-government. This situation has made it possible, he thinks, for a well-organized hierarchy to acquire the real power of government and to retain it, in the face of popular disapproval, for selfish ends. Such leaders the author characterizes as "politocrats."

The first part of the volume deals with the rise of the politocrats; the second discusses various expedients for restoring the American ideal of democracy; while the third considers constructive proposals like the commission form of government for smaller cities, and the application of the principles underlying this form to larger cities and the state, and to the selection of judges.

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This book recounts, in a manner at once scholarly and dramatic, the early history of Chicago. Important as this subject is, it is not treated solely for its own sake. The author's larger purpose has been to trace the evolution of the frontier from savagery to civilization. From the point of view of Chicago and the Northwest alone the work is local in character, although the locality concerned embraces five great states of the Union; in the larger sense its interest is as broad as America, for every foot of America has been at some time on the frontier of civilization. It is believed that this book will take rank as the standard history of Chicago in the early days.

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